HISTORY AND CULTURE OF
KHOND TRIBES



Nihar Ranjan Patnaik

This stimulating volume is an interpretative, clearly organized and well-balanced survey of history and culture of the Khond tribes of India. Elaborating the geography and topography of the region and the consequent nature of the Khonds, this work provides a meticulous analysis of their political, juridical, economic, social and religious institutions. It also explores the origin, mode and suppression of two horrid practices namely human sacrifice and infanticide. While the book reveals the causes and the nature of Khond resistance against the British rule, it extensively narrates the progress and consequences of those uprisings of far-reaching importance, It also encompasses the cultural aspects such as art, artefacts, language, dance, sports and music of the Khonds. The process of their social change and their adoption of Hindu customs are also analytically discussed. Close attention has been paid to major problems and the geographical hazards which have made the Khonds conservative and backward. Side by side the pros and cons of other issues like shifting settlement and migration, nomadic system of cultivation, economic exploitation, extreme poverty, customary Lethargy and traditional reliance on primitive social rules, intervention in their socio-religious beliefs, apathy and indifference to education and unsuitability of the British laws and regulations have been highlighted. The work is based chiefly on primary sources. Other pertinent studies of the best scholars in the field have been consulted as well. This book will certainly elicit great interest among the scholars not only in history, anthropology and sociology but also among the general readers who are keenly interested in the study of complex and mysterious Life-styles, sensational struggles and fascinating achievements of the primitive tribes. This work is indeed an oribinal contribution to the study of tribal history and culture of India.

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KHOND TRIBES

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KHOND TRIBES

NIHAR RANJAN PATNAIK

COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHERS
NEW DELHI INDIA

Published by
AJAY VERMA
for COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHERS
4378/4B, GALI MURARI LAL
ANSARI ROAD, NEW DELHI-110 002
INDIA Telephone : 3272541

First Published, 1992

ISBN 81-7169-199-4

HISTORY AND CULTURE OF KHOND TRIBES

Printed at
Gaurav Printers
Maujpur
Delhi-110 053

Foreword

This book offers a comprehensive historical study of the Khonds, mainly during the nineteenth century as they came increasingly under British control and influence. It falls into four main parts. The first (chapters 1-4) offers descriptions of the Khonds' history (so far as it can be discerned), their political, juridical and social structures, their agriculture, systems of exchange and economic condition, their settlements, social life, customs, art, language and religion. The second provides an account of their custom of human sacrifice and its gradual suppression by the British. The third gives a similar story about their practices of infanticide. The last treats Khond rebellions. There is much detail here that will be of interest to students of myth, to historical anthropologists, and to social and political historians.

The first of these treatments is largely ahistorical. There is some mention of Hindu influences, and a discussion of colonial education policy, but by and large the story is not one of change. Indeed Dr Patnaik claims that there was in religious beliefs, for example, 'a remarkable continuity'. The remainder of the book, however, is explicitly about the social reformation attempted by the colonial rulers, and about Khond acquiescence in or resistance to such influences.

Some of the attitudes which lay behind the British attack on Khond customs are today considered unacceptable. This book records some of them, such as G.E. Russell's descriptions of 'horrible rites' in the 1830s or Colonel Campbell's assessment in the 1860s of the Khond's 'repulsive' physical character and limited intellectual capacities. Moreover, the very idea

of intruding into and altering the domains of other cultures is now suspect, the old self-confidence of scientific rationalism and Victorian ethics has waned, and even the god of economic development is somewhat tarnished. There is more respect for different systems of ethics and praxis, but also, it must be said, some sentimentality about lost or vanishing worlds.

This book has a number of valuable lessons for these debates. It shows that, despite the popular image of colonial insensitivity, the dangers of wholesale interference were recognized from the first by the British administrators, whose by-word was generally gradualism and change by consent. The book reminds us too that there is nothing peculiarly European about 'racist' essentialisms of others, again contrary to what is commonly supposed. Indian observers were as or more dismassive of the Khonds as were the Europeans. Dr. Patnaik concludes that one reason for the outsider's derogatory impression of the Khonds was that they themselves lacked the capacity to explain themselves. He might be taken to imply thar this was a fault particular to them. But of course all peoples—even individuals—have this difficulty of translating their values and ideas into terms comprehensible by others. While surfaces may be conveyed, resonances and contexts are not.

The book shows, finally, that there is no simple answer to the dilemmas we face in regard to preserving cultures. In the final analysis, taking that surface of Khond custom as a whole, how much of it would even the most relativist amongst us be prepared to defend against all change? It would be a gross sentimentality to regret the interference which sought to end human sacrifice or infanticide. Inhumanities we call them, supposing a system of values in which all humans are equally valued, a system which is indeed specific to certain cultures, or more correctly found only in aspects or tendencies within cultures. If it is economic development that we are shunning, equally we have to note Dr. Patnaik's iteration that the Khonds were poor. There are questions in this book therefore for modern-day defenders of forests or

indeed of traditions : these cannot be assumed to be positive goods in themselves, merely on grounds of history, or of possession by one's own people. Neither conservation nor conservatism is absolutely valuable.

Dr. Peter Robb
Chairman
Department of History and
Centre of South Asian Studies
School of Oriental and African Studies
University of London

Preface

The Khonds, one of the major aboriginal races of India, are older than the Vedic Aryans and even the Dravidian architects of the ancient Indian civilizations. Yet for thousand of years they lived undisturbed in the hills and forests, unnoticed by the outside world. It was in 1836 that G.E. Russell during the Ghumsar War took a keen interest in the Khond tribe. For the knowledge of the British Government, in his report he made a mention of their religion and society including horrible rites of Meriah and infanticide. In this connection in the Calcutta Christian Observer for April and July of 1837 two papers were published by the Reverend wrown, of the General Baptist Mission, Orissa. The papers were partly based on personal observation, and partly on hearsay from the British officers engaged in the Ghumsar War. Then the reports of J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell were published in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science of January-June, 1837. Thereafter Macpherson's observations on Khonds were published in a series of articles in the Calcutta Review. Besides, several long articles written by the Reverend Alexander Duff were published in the Calcutta Review between 1845 and 1848. Those were based not only on Macpherson's personal letters but also on government records made available to Duff by Hardinge, the Governor-General of India, and on later papers furnished by the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. From that time on the Khonds figured prominently in the anthropological world. Some literature concerning their social and religious institutions have also been published. But no effort has yet been made to study them intensively in a historical and cultural pers-

spective. Hence I have made a humble attempt in this work to furnish a detailed account of this tribe with a diachronic approach.

Keeping all these aspects in view, seven chapters besides an introduction and a conclusion have been included in the work. These are Political structure and British administration in Khond tracts, Economic life, Social life. Religious life, Meriah sacrifice and its suppression, Infanticide and its suppression and Khond rebellions.

This work is mainly based on primary sources. To the best of my ability all original materials available on the subject have been consulted. The records in manuscript form of the period were studied in Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar, West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta, the Record Room of the Orissa Secretariate, Bhubaneswar, the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, the Tribal Research Bureau, Bhubaneswar, District Collectorate Record Rooms of Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Phulbani, Puri and Dhenkanal. Original materials like Government records, reports, sanads, treaties, despatches, gazetteers and a few other contemporary works have also been consulted in the libraries attached to those institutions. Besides, the materials in both manuscript and printed form available in Tamil Nadu State Archives, Madras, Bihar State Archives, Patna and National Archives of India, New Delhi have also been utilised. The Library of Anthropological Survey of India, Asiatic Society Library, National Liabrary, Calcutta, the Orissa Secretariate Library, Orissa State Assembly Library, H.K. Mahtab Library located in Bhubaneswar and the private libraries of some feudatory Rajas of Orissa have also been used for the purpose.

In the preparation of the thesis I owe my profound gratitude to my guide Dr. K.S. Behera, Professor of History, Utkal University, Bhubanswar, who has kindly supervised my work. I am also indebted to the heads of all such institutions for their help extended to me in consulting the records and books required for the work especially, Dr. M.P. Dash, the

Superintendent of Orissa State Archives and his staff. I am very much grateful to Sri Bhagaban Chandra Mohanty, Department of English, Bhadrak College who went through the manuscript and toned up the standard of the work. I also recall with pleasure and gratitude the valuable help renderd to me in preparing the volume by Dr. M.N. Das, former Vice-Chancellor of Utkal University, Dr. G.C. Patnaik, Principal, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and Dr. P.K. Mishra, Professor of History, Sambalpur University. I must record my obligations to Dr. R.K, Perti, Director General of Archives, India, New Delhi, Dr. Y. Sriramurty, Professor of History, Andhra University, Dr. K.S. Behera, Professor of History, Utkal University, Dr. C.A. Bayly, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge and Dr. Ellen B. Basso, Professor of Anthropology, the University of Arizona, U.S.A., President American Ethonological Society, for giving their comments on the work. I am extremely grateful to Dr. Peter Robb, Chairman, Department of History and Centre of South Asian Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London for writing foreword on the book. I do wish to acknowledge a deep and abiding debt of gratitude to my father Prof. Jagannath Patnaik and to my mother Mrs. Basanti Patnaik, who as the source of inspiration gave me encouragement and excellent advice from first to last. The help to my brothers Manas, Tapas, Gautam and wife Julie in preparing the manuscript needs mention. Finally, I express my thankfulness to Mr. B.R. Verma, Proprietor, Commonwealth Publishers, New Delhi, for undertaking the publication of the book.

NIHAR RANJAN PATNAIK

Abbreviations

A A R	Annual Administrative Report.
Acsn	Accession.
Adam's Report	Reports on the State of Education in Bengal (1835-1838) by William Adam, Edited by A. Basu (Calcutta, 1941).
Aitchison's Collection	C.U. Aitchison (Compiled), A collection of Treaties and Engagements and Sunnuds, relating to India and Naighpourin States, Vol. I (Calcutta I1862),
Angul Gazetteer	L.S.S.O Malley. Bengal District Gazetteers, Angul (Calcutta, 1908).
Appx	Appendix
Art	Article
Asst	Assisant
Bd. Procd	Board Proceedings
B P P	Bengal Past and Present
B S A	West Bengal State Archives
Campbell's Narrative	John Campbell, A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the suppression of Human sacrifice (London. 1864).
C C O	The Calcutta Christian Observer

C M H	The Culcutta Missionary Herald
Comp	Compiled
Crm	Criminal
Daspalla Papers	Letters and Reports relating to Daspalla State kept in Orissa State Archives in MSS.
East India (Missionary and Idolatry)	East India (Missionaries)-East India (Idolatry), Ordered by the House of Commons, to be printed, 12 Feb. 1858.
Ed	Edited, Edition
Edu	Education
Feudatory States	L.E.B. Cobden-Ramsay, Bengal
Gozetteers	Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa (Howrah, 1950)
Ganjam Manual	T.J. Maltby, The Ganjam District Manual, Edited by G.D. Leman (Reprint, Madras, 1918).
Ganjam Memoir	H.D. Taylor (Ed), Memoir on the Ganjam Maliahs in the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1847).
G.O.	Government Order
Govt.	Government
Guide to Orissan Records	S.C. De (Ed), A Guide to Orissan Records (Bhubaneswar, 1961).
Hamilton's Hindostan	Walter Hamilton. A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and its adjacent countries (London, 1820),
H C	House of Commons
H F M O	H.K. Mahtab (Ed), History of the Freedom Movement in Orissa (Cuttack, 1957-1959).

Hindoo Infanticide (1789-1820)	East India Affairs, Copy of All correspondence which has taken on the subject of Hindoo Infanticide and of all Proceedings of the Indian government, with regard to that practice, 1789-1820.
Hislop Papers	Stephen Hislop, Papers relating to the aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces, Edited by R. Temple (Nagpur, 1866).
Hobson-Jobsan	Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, A Glossary of colloquial Anglo Indian words and phrases, and of kindered Terms, Ethymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive (Reprint, London, 1903).
I H C P	Indian History Congress Proceedings.
I H Q	The Indian Historical Quarterly.
I H R C	Indian Historical Records Commission.
I J S W	The Indian Journal of Social Work.
J A S	Journal of the Asiatic Society.
J A S B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J B O R S	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J E M	Journal of Education, Madras.
J I H	Journal of Indian History.
J O H	Jaurnal of Orissan History.
J R A S G B I	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
Jud	Judicial

Kanika Ward Report	Syud Sukhawat Hossein, A completion Report of Survey and Settlement for Kanika Ward's Estate (District Cuttack), seasons 1889-94 (Calcutta, 1895).
L R	Loose Record
Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion	Samuel Charters Macpherson's 'An Account of the Religious opinions and observances of the Khonds of Goomsur and Boad', Published in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, Vol. VII, 1843, pp. 172-199.
Macpherson's Memorials	William Macpherson (Ed.), Memorials of Major Samuel Charters Macpherson (London, 1865).
Macpherson's Report upon Khonds	Lieut Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack (Calcutta. 1842).
Maddox Report	S.L. Maddox, Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Province of Orissa, 1890-1900 (Calcutta, 1900).
Madras Presidency Manual	Manual of the administration of the Madras Presidency, Records of Government and the yearly administration Reports, 3 Volumes (Madras, 1885).
Mayurbhanj Records	Selections from Official Letters and Records relating to the History of Mayurbhanj, Vol. II, 1821-1861 (Baripada, 1943).
Meriah Reports	Reports of the Meriah Agents (Ganjam) from 1837 to 1861 (Madras, 1885).

M J L S	Madras Journal of Literature and Science.
N A	National Archives, New Delhi.
No	Number
O H C P	Orissa History Congress Proceeding.
O H R J	The Orissa Historical Research Journal.
O S A	Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar.
Partially Excluded Areas Reports	Reports of the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee Orissa, 1940 (Cuttack, 1940).
Pol	Political
P P	Parliamentary Papers.
Pub	Publication, Published in.
Q J M S	The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
Ramdhyani's Report	R.K. Ramdhyani, Report on the Land Tenures and the Revenue system of the Orissa and Chattisgarh States, Vol. III (Howrah, 1949).
R C E	Report of the Council of Education.
Rev	Revenue
R G C P I	Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.
Richard Temple's Report	Richard Temple, Report on the Zamindaries and other chieftaincies in the Central Provinces in 1863 (Reprint,——, 1908).
Sec	Section

S E R	Selections from Educational Records.
S L	Serial
S R G (Bengal)	Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government.
S R G (India)	Selections from the Records of Government of India.
S R G (India), No. V	Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Home Department), No. V, History of Rise and Progress of the operations for the suppression of Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide in the Hill Tracts of Orissa (Calcutta, 1854).
S R G (Madras)	Selections from the Records of the Madras Government.
S R G (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI	Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, A Collection and Precis of Papers about Jeypore, No. LXXXI (Madras, 1864).
S R G (Madras), No. VIII	Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VIII, Reports on District Roads for 1853 (Madrrs, 1855).
S R G (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II	Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, G.E. Russell's Report on the Disturbances in Purla Kimedy, Vizagapatam and Goomsoor, 1832-1836, Vol. II.
States' Report	States Enquiry Committee Report (Cuttack, 1939).
Stevenson's Report on Goomsur	Report of J.A.R. Stevenson on Goomsur Zamindary (Madras, 1916).

Stirling's Account	Andrew Stirling, Orissa: Its Geography, Statistics, History, Religion and Antiquities (London, 1846).
Thornton Gazetteer	Edward Thornton, Gazetteer of the territories under the Government of East India Company and of the Native States on the continent of India (London, 1854).
Trans	Translated by, Translation.
T S A	Tamil Nadu State Archives, Madras.
Vizagapatam Manual	D.F. Carmichael, Manual of the District of Vizagapatam in the Presidency of Madras (Madras, 1869).
Vol.	Volume.
Wilson's Glossary	H.H. Wilson, A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of useful words occurring in Official Documents, relating to the administration of the Government of British India (London, 1855).

Contents

Introduction

The Khonds* or Kandhs constituted one of the principal aborigines of the hills of Orissa and neighbouring districts, inhabiting the region extending from the eastern limits of Gondwana to the Bay of Bengal, and from the Mahanadi river on the north to the Godavari on the south.**[1] Their habitat was the hills separating the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatnam in the then Madras Presidency and continuing northwards into the Orissa Tributary States of Baud, Daspalla, and Nayagarh, and crossing the Mahanadi, into Angul and the Khondamals. The Khond area further extended into the Central Provinces, covering the northern part of Kalahandi, and the southern part of Patna.[2] The meridonial limit of their western extension passed through Bamra, and except as wanderers from their fatherland, they were not found further north than the twenty-second degree of latitude.[3] Thus the

*In the report of the British Government and in some of the books of foreign writers the mention of 'Khond' with the spelling Kandh is found. In the administrative Report of the Ganjam Agency, 1902-1903, C.B. Cotterell writes that Kondh is the exact transliteration from the vernacular, and he finds no reason, either sentimental or etymological, for keeping such spelling as Khond. 'Khond' seems to be the Europeanised corruption of the Oriya terms Kandh or Kondh.

**The number of Khonds returned at the Census of 1891 was 627,388.

1. H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India* (Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1974), p. 95.
2. G.A. Grierson (Ed.), *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV (Calcutta, 1906), p. 457;
   E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), Vol. III, p. 357;
   Man in India, Vol. XII, October-December, 1932, No. 4, p. 245.
3. E.T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India* (Reprint, Delhi, 1973), p. 285.

Khonds were found in great numbers in all the hill estates south of the Mahanadi.[4] Those areas mostly comprised the political divisions such as Baud, Daspalla, Khondmals (Phulbani), Kalahandi, Ghumsar, Udaigiri, Chinna Kimedy, Bissam Katak, Jeypore, Gunupur and Palkonda.[5*]

Geography

Most of the parts of the Khond territory were excessively hilly, and the central table-land had an elevation of about 2,000 feet above the sea level. While some portions of the territory were quite bereft of wood, others were covered with thickly clustered trees. At the foot of the hills were found penetrable bamboo forests. The Khond districts were situated both in the plateau and in the forests, belonging mainly to the then Madras Presidency, coupled with the dependencies of both Bengal and the Central Provinces.[6]

An officer, best acquainted with the Khond area, namely Macpherson, has described it as a tract 'of forests, swamps and mountain fastnesses, interspersed with open and productive valleys.'[7]

Geographically there were found clear boundaries between the hills and the plains in the Khond inhabited areas. For example, there were no fooothills, and the descent to the plains, on the west, north, east and north-east of the Khondmals was so abrupt that it was appropriate to call the mountains a 'wall'.[8] Of course, this Khond country was not homogeneous.[9] While the western part of the Khondmals, was intersected in all directions by the numerous lateral ramifications of the Ghats which broke up the surface of the country into small depressions of comparatively small fertility, the eastern half of the Khondmals contained larger and more

4. Stirling's Account, p. 51.
5. W.W. Winfield, *A Grammar of the Kui Language* (Calcutta, 1928), p. XIII.
*See the map, showing the Khond areas in Appendix-A.
6. H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 95.
7. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, part vii, para 30.
8. F.G. Bailey *Tribe, Caste, and Nation* (Bomby, 1960), p. 164.
9. Angul Gazetteer, p. 46.

open and fertile valleys. Some examples can be cited. West Daspalla was practically one long chain of narrow valleys of low elevation and comparative richness. East Ghumsar was the point where the plateau began to merge into the plains of Ganjam. Baud was low country dotted with hills through which the Mahanadi had scoured a passage for itself through ages and had left a deposit of alluvium as it drew its waters from the bed of its present channel.[10]

Usually the life of the people is related to the geography of a place[11] Illustrating it further, the geographical setting largely determines the nature of the material elements of a national culture such as what food is to be taken by the people, what dress to be worn, what types of festivals to be observed, and what types of shelter to be raised.[12] Even appearances, actions and the mental development of the people are influenced by the geographical settings of the place of habitation.[13] Thus geography determines the very way of life of the people.[14] So was the case of the Khonds. The areas principally inhabited by the tribals including the Khonds were composed of rugged hills, uninhabited jungles, and deep water courses, surrounded by pathless wildernesses, forests, or valleys, and pervaded by a pestilential atmosphere.[15] This type of geography of the Khond-land had influenced the nature of the inhabitants.[16] Carey reiterates this point in the following words, "For that high range in which they (Khonds) dwelt was no open table-land, which with comparative ease

10. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, Part-III, No. 3, 1904, p. 40, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
11. See Lucien Febvre, *A Geographical Introduction to History* (London, 1925.
12. D.N. Majumdar, *Races and Cultures of India* (Reprint, Bombay, (1965), p. 44.
13. James Edgar Swain, *A Short History of World Civilization* (Reprint, New Delhi, 1970), p. 2.
14. E.C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment* (New York, 1911), p. 2.
15. Hamilton's Hindostan, Vol. II, p. 32.
16. JOH, Vol. VIII, June 1988, pp. 42-43, N R. Patnaik's 'Influence of Geography on the Society of 19th Century Orissa.'

could be reconnoitred, traversed and subdued, but wild and mountainous, with further heights of 1500 and even 2,000 feet, clothed with forest to their summits, and no highway there, no way; only tracts scarcely discernible through the jungle; the haunt and hunting—ground of ravenous beasts. Men had to be alert and brave to live there, and these Khonds were brave."[17] Further, such areas being devoid of the oceans, rivers, plains which usually facilitated easy intercourse between different regions and groups, were not helpful for social progress.[18] Hence the Khonds remained conservative and backward.

Thus the ethnological features of this Khond country were in keeping with its geographical variations.[19] The West Khondmals and a portion of West Ghumsar were inhabited by the wilder and more primitive septs who, with the exception of a few headmen, spoke no language but their own mother tongue. They still eat the flesh of the pig and drink strong liquors, and whose women still go about with only a piece of cloth round the loins, leaving the breast uncovered. Similarly in the Eastern half of the Khondmals, Western Daspalla, and in East Ghumsar, almost all the men and women spoke Oriya, the people had more or less eschewed the flesh of the pig, and the women dressed like the ordinary Oriya women of the country. In the plains of Baud and Ghumsar the Khonds were hardly distinguishable from the Oriyas, in feature, language, and in their mode of living.[20]

Climate

The climate of the Khond territories was highly insalubrious.[21] In the Ghats, the nights were always cool, and in

17. S. Pearce Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hill* (London, 1936), p. 12.
18. Aloo J. Dastur, *Man and His Environment* (Bombay, 1954), p. 18.
19. Angul Gazetteer, p. 46.
20. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, Part III, No. 3, 1904, pp. 40-41, J.E. Friend-Periera's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
21. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 4, Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and various Official Documents.

the cold months a fire was agreeable even in the day-time; heavy showers began to fall there in April and continued until the south-west monsoon regularly began in June. Referring to Jeypore in this connection D.F. Carmichael writes, "In the Jeypore Country the heat is intense in the day, but the nights are cool, the monsoon sets in early and is very heavy; it frequently rains incessantly for weeks together; in the winter months the cold at night is very great although the temperature is generally high in the day-time, and thus there are great and sudden alterations of temperature."[22] Referring to the Ganjam Maliah country, T.J. Maltby further writes, "In the Maliah country the heat is as great or greater than in the plains, but in December hoar-frost is not uncommon, the thermometer not infrequently falling as low as 30° Fahr., even in the low country the cold at this season is very sharp and piercing, more especially about Russellkonda."[23] Similar is the revealation of A.C. MacNeill who was closely associated with the region for a long time. He has stated that the climate of the Khond tracts of Chinna Kimedy was always an unhealthy one and it was most inimical during the hot and wet months.[24]

Furthermore, it is to be observed that in the Khondmals the climate was dry, bracing, and comparatively cool. It formed a pleasant contrast to that of the plains. The temperature in the hottest weather seldom rose above 102° in the year. And the nights were chilly. So the use of a blanket almost throughout the year was a necessity. In the cold weather a fire at night was indispensable. The temperature was, however, very variable, there being a sharp fall as soon as the sun disappeared behind the hills in the evening. The cold weather began in October and often lasted well into March. It was a dry bracing cold, and at this time of the year a thin layer of frost might be seen every morning on the roofs of thatched

22. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 36.
23. Ganjam Manual, p. 160.
24. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 35, A.C. McNeill, Agent to Governor General, Hill Tracts of Orissa, to G S. Forbes, Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam, March 1, 1861.

houses. The hot weather began in April. Often after a few showers, the climate became pleasant till the end of that month. The rains began in June and brought about an immediate change. At this time of the year 'pankhas' might be dispensed with at night, and the oppressive moist heat of the plain was unknown.[25] Thus the rainfall was uncertain, unevenly distributed and the climate was unhealthy in the Khondmals.[26]

However, out of all the places of the Khond tracts of Orissa, "Ghoomsur is esteemed" writes Hamilton, "as one of the hottest regions in India and is peculiarly subject to strokes of the sun, for which Mr. Bussy, in 1757, lost seven Europeans of his army in one day."[27]

In case of rainfall, it was more or less the same in the entire Khond tracts of Orissa, with little variation. During the monsoons the South-Western Orissa, Jeypore and Malkangiri and the middle of Phulbani and the Phiringia mountainous regions experienced high rainfall.[38] While the rainfall in the Khondmals was 53.92 inches at Phulbani, it was 61.99 inches at Balandapara.[29] About the winter rainfall, minimum winter rainfall at Malkangiri was 1.9 cm. Yet South-Western Orissa covering almost the entire district of Koraput remained dry during winter season.[30]

Climate plays a great role in influencing the manners, customs, predilections, and usages of the inhabitants.[31] It also determines the progress of the area. It effects human occupations, modes of life, and habits as well.[32] Therefore, the Khonds had developed a distinct nature and character, and a different mode of life from that of the people in the plains.

25. Angul Gazetteer, p. 18.
26. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, Vol. V., p. 375.
27. Hamilton's Hindostan, Vol. II, p. 379.
28. B.N. Sinha, *Geography of Orissa* (New Delhi, 1971), p. 17.
29. Angul Gazetteer, p. 18.
30. B.N. Sinha, op. cit., p. 17.
31. Abbe, J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies* (Reprint, Oxford, 1953), p. 27.
32. Ellsworth Huntington, *Civilisation and Climate* (Reprint, New Haven, 1948), p. 3.

Furthermore, a delayed or scanty south-west monsoon rapidly caused famine conditions in the Khond territories. Cyclonic conditions could also destroy the rice seedlings ovornight.[33] These problems and dangers, both within the region itself and in its accessibility, coupled with poor cultivation and general lack of attraction to plainsfolk, had resulted in the inability of the Khonds to establish contact with the outside world.

Rivers

Strangely the rivers of the Khond tracts posed a liabifity for the inhabitants. Those rivers were not fit for navigation and, for four months in the rainy season, they seriously impeded inter-village communications. At times the river water swept away both cattle and men. Mention may be made of the Salki River flowing through the Khond villages which was torrential in the rains. In July at times the water in this river rose twenty feet overnight. During the dry season it was possible to walk over the river bed without getting one's feet wet. The rivers were not useful for irrigation. When the water was needed the river was all but dry and deep down below the steep banks.[34] The larger rivers of the higher south and west of the Khond country often ran in deep rocky ravines which defied cultivation and rarely provided easy foot tracts the communication.[35]

Flora and Fauna

The Khond country was usually full of dense forests. The common bamboo, with the damur-tree, was found in profusion, covering the elevations on all sides.[36] Of the other trees, the most beautiful were the Simili, or the silk cotton tree; the Bauhinia, with its geranium-coloured flowers; and the Manna tree with its magnificent yellow blossoms. The mango

33. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds* (Warminster, 1982), p. 10.
34. F.G. Bailey, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (Manchester, 1957), p. 16.
35. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 9.
36. Campbell's Narrative, p. 37.

and banian trees were not less profuse and some were of very large size.[37] The most common and valuable tree was the teak-like Sal (Shorea Robusta) whose hard timber was used for all main beams in building and for making ploughs and such other implements. The Mahua tree (Bassia Latifolia), from whose fleshy corollae a strong liquor was distilled, was also very plentiful. A species of date palm peculiar to the Khond hills was also found in abundance. Like the Mahua tree those were noted for supplying never-ending toddy with nutritional value. In addition, the jungle yielded grass for thatching houses and rushes for making strong sleeping-mats and ropes. The large leaves of certain trees were sewn together to make plates and bowls. Many edible roots, berries and leafy vegetables were also grown mostly in the rainy season.[38]

The Khond tracts of Orissa were infested with wild animals. Of those the mammalian animals were tigers, man-eaters, Cheetah, the panther and the leopard.[39] Those were mostly found at the foot of the hills. Tigers rendered grazing of the cattle difficult in the forest. In the Khondmals, leopards were found in large numbers in the vicinity of every village. Goats, sheep and dogs frequently became their victims.[40] They did not spare men as well[41] Bears, hyaenas, wolves, jackals and wild buffaloes were numerous in these areas.[42] It is worthwhile to mention two kinds of peculiar wild dogs found in the Khond hills of Ganjam. These were the 'Bolia Kukura' which hunted in pairs, and the 'Khogo' hunting in packs. Those dogs were very much dreaded by the deer and their very appearance was sufficient for the deer to disappear from the jungle. Even tigers were said to have been afraid of them.[43] Besides, bison, Sambar (Cervus unicolor). Nilgai (Boslaphus tragocamelus), Barking deer (Cervulus muntjac),

37. Ganjam Manual, p. 75.
38. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 6.
39. Ganjam Manual, p. 215.
40. Angul Gazetteer, p. 11.
41. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p 9.
42. Cambell's Narrative, p. 37.
43. Ganjam Manual, pp. 74-75.

hares and wild pigs were found all over the forest areas.[44] Snakes were very common, cobras and kraits being the most dangerous.[45] Birds such as snipe quail, partridge, peacock, jungle-fowl, squirrels, green pigeons were common.[46] But geese, duck and teal were not found, presumably owing to the absence of large rivers or disused tanks.[47]

Yet the bounteous fauna in the Khond hills was a liability rather than an asset.[48] While these wild animals were dangerous for the men and cattle, those were no less damaging for the crops of the Khonds.

Origin of the word 'Khond'

There are different opinions as to the origin or derivation of the name 'Khond' In Telugu the Khonds are called 'Kodu Vandlu', in Oriya 'Kondho Loko' and the Khonds call themselves 'Kui' which is 'Kuinga' in the plural form.[49] The name 'Khond', as Macpherson has suggested, is derived from the Telugu word 'Konda', a hill.[50] He writes thus, "The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, 'Khond', in the plural 'Khondooloo', means mountaineer, from the Teloogoo word signifying a 'hill'. Their sole native appellation, south of the Mahanuddee is 'Koinga' or 'Kwinga', which may be a corruption of 'Kulinga', which, by the exchange of convertible letters may be Pulinda, in Sanskrit and thence in Tamil 'a barbarian', a savage mountaineer using an unintelligible dialect".[51] Some scholars opine that 'Khond' is a kindered word with Gond. In that case it should be written Kand, both being derived from the Tamil 'Kandas', a hill.[52] Yet there is another opinion, advanced by some

44. Angul Gazetteer, pp. 13-16.
45. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 6.
46. Campbell's Narrative, p. 37.
47. Angul Gazetteer, p. 17.
48. F.G. Bailey, *Caste and Economic Frontier*, p. 17.
49. Ganjam Manual, p. 52.
50. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 90.
51. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 20.
52. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 285;
Athelstane Baines, *Ethonography* (Strassburg, 1912), p. 1_0.

scholars. It is derived from 'Kandra', meaning an arrow.[53] Some scholars also have tried to identify it with the Oriya word 'Khanda' denoting a measurement to land reckoned with the quantity of seed sown. In support of this view they have referred to the fact that once upon a time the Khond was a race of quiet cultivators dwelling in the plains of Orissa.[54] But this view does not appear to the convincing and hence not acceptable. Yet there is another theory. The word Khond might have been derived from the word 'Kandha' or 'Skandha' which means shoulder in Sanskrit. The Khonds used to carry loads of wood on their shoulders, and hence this is their principal limb of the body.[55] From the word Skandha, the derivation of the word Khond is somewhat a plausible theory. Another theory is given in this conext. In the Ramayana there is mention of tribe of Asuras, called 'Skandh-Asuras', who were known to have ruled over the forest of Dandaka, the hill tract extending from the Vindhya hills to the river Krishna, and the Khonds may be a remnant of this tribe. In course of time the initial S has been dropped by phonetic corruption.[56] In this respect there is yet another plausible hypothesis. The Khonds, as a whole, are militant and as such they used to have always a sword in their hands. The sword in Oriya language is 'Khanda', and hence these people are called 'Khanda' people. Subsequently from it, the word Khond has been derived.[57] Although in 1767 the Collector of Ganjam district, Mr. Cotsford, making a report on his district, speaks of the people called 'Kodulu or Kodulu Vandlu', he does not refer to them as Khonds.[58]

Thus it is to be observed that in view of the inadequate, unconvincing, and often vague data, nothing can be said with

53. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 285.
54. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1892), Vol. 1, pp. 397-398.
55. L.N. Sahu, *The Hill Tribes of Jeypore*, Calcutta, 1942), p. 39.
56. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 398.
57. S.B. Thiady. *Phulbani, The Khond Land* (Berhampur, 1965), p. 6; H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 398.
58. Ganjam Manual, p. 53.

certainty as to the origin of the name Khond. However, Macpherson's opinion is more acceptable. The derivation of the name Khond from Telugu 'Konda', a hill, appears to be more plausible.[59] This has been supported by Stephen Hislop.[60] There is a tribe in Vizagapatam called Konda Dora or Konda Kapu, and these people are also frequently called Kotuvandlu. However all these names are derivatives of the root Ko or Ku, a mountain.[61]

Furthermore, it is also not easy to say how or when the name first came into vogue.

Origin of the Khond Tribe

In this context the origin of the Khond tribe needs to be looked into. The first theory is based on a legendary account. Once upon a time, the ground was all wet, and there were only two females on the earth named Karaboodi and Tharthaboodi, each of whom was blessed with a single male child. Those two children were Kasarodi and Singarodi. All these individuals sprang from the interior of the earth. Along with them two small plants called nangakoocha and badokoocha sprang up. And on those plants they depended for their subsistence. Subsequently the wet soil dried up and from it, all kinds of animals and trees came into existence. Kasarodi and Singarodi were given in marriage to the two daughters of Bura Pennu. And the Khonds believe that they have originated from them as their children.[62]

Discarding this legend, Macpherson has given another theory regarding the origin of the Khonds. He writes, "No mythology and legend appears to exist amongst the Khonds, which indicates, however dimly, their origin, or from whence they are derived; they believe themselves to have existed in Orissa 'from the beginning', having either

59. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa* (London, 1872), Vol. II, p. 71; A.V. Thakkar, *Tribes of India* (Delhi, 1950), p. 176.
60. Hislop Papers, p. 3.
61. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 356.
62. A.B. Jayaram Moodaliar's account quoted in E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 368-369.

sprung from the soil itself, like the branch of the Greeks which traced its origin to the Arcadian Pelasgus, or having been created contemporaneously along with it".[63] Thus he opines that the Khonds are obviously one of the numerous remnants of the primitive population of India, which have survived the Hindu conquest, being favoured by social and physical circumstances.[64] This hypothesis of Macpherson's is corroborated by J.P. Frye.[65]

A few other scholars have advanced another view. The earliest inhabitants of India were the proto-Australoids in whom there might be some infiltration of African or even Negrito blood in the coastal parts of India at later periods.[66] The Khonds can be put to this proto-Australoid racial stock and might not be independent a race or otherwise.[67]

Yet some other schloars opine that the very earliest inhabitants of India are the negritos of the Andaman Island type. surviving in certain tribes of the forests in the extreme south.[68] These earliest inhabitants have been depicted as 'a dark negroid race of law culture'.[69] Subsequently they came in contact with the immigrants of higher culture possibly coming through Baluchistan. They established themselves in the north, possibly between 4,000 and 2,500 B.C., and then spread over the Deccan in the south. Intermarriage might have occurred between them and some of the aboriginal inhabitants, especially with those who are living along the

63. Macpherson's Reports upon Khonds, p. 19.
64. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 35;
Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, pp. 19-20.
65. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, pp. 1-38, J P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh population of Orissa'.
66. D.N. Majumdar,o p. cit., p. 63.
67. S.S. Sarkar, *The Aboriginal Races of India* (Calcutta, 1954), pp. 31-35;
D.N. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 64.
68. A.C. Bouquet, *HInduism* (London, 1948), p. 16;
JAS, Vol. XVII, No. 1.1951, p. 35, B S. Guhas's 'The Indian aborigines and their administration'.
69. E.J. Rapson (Ed.) *Cambridge History of India* (London, 1922), Vol. I, p. 593.

regular routes of communication in the valleys.[70] So it is presumed that the primitive existing race of India is the pre-Dravidian aborigines and not the more cultured Dravidians.[71] And the Khonds belonged to these pre-Dravidian aborigines.

However, according to some scholars, the original seat of the pre-Dravidian groups or mixed groups of Dravidians in India had been in the mountains and forest regions where they are found at present.[72] Originally those were inaccessible low lands and jungles. This is also corroborated by the earliest Aryan legends. The Aryans in hordes entered India sometime between 1700 B.C. and 1300 B.C. and settled in the Indo-Gangetic basin. They were stronger in physique, numbers, organisation and arms, and hence succeeded in imposing their will on the weaker groups. They also compelled these weaker people either to surrender or to escape to the inaccessible areas of the forests and the mountains.[73] The Khonds belonged to these weaker groups. But these Khonds in varying degrees, preserved their independence in these hills and since then they had been living independently.[74]

On an analysis of cultural evidences some scholars have presented a theory regarding the origin of the Khonds. The Dravidian tribes including the Khonds had originally lived in South India.[75] Then they were expelled from their southern habitats by a superior agricultural people.[76] These expelled tribes migrated to the hills and jungles and finally settled

70. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*. p. 209.
71. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 41.
72. W. Crooke, *The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills* (London, 1899), p. 230.
73. M.M. Thomas and R.W. Taylor (Eds.) *Tribal Awakening* (Bangalore, 1965), p.6.
72. S. Pearce Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills* (London, 1936) p. 11; Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy* (Philippines and Bangalore., 1973), p. 4.
75. D.H. Gordon, *The Historic Background of Indian Culture* (Bombay, 1958), p. 172; *The Adivasis* (Delhi, 1955), p. 43, Aiyappan's 'The Tribes of South and South-East India'.
76. Stephen Fuchs, *The Aboriginal Tribes of India* (New Delhi, 1973), p. 33.

there.[77] The date of this migration can not be determined with certainty. Yet it could not have taken place long before 500 B.C.[78]

In this context, A.C. Sen writes that a race of cultivators called Ods or Odras came from the south, spread over the plains of Orissa and finally drove the aboriginals (including Khonds) into the hills.[79] He is said to have derived this information from the local tradition in Puri. It also seems probable that the aboriginal inhabitants like Khonds were the masters of the entire country, the low lands as well as the highlands, till they were forced back into the hills for the extension of the Hindu Kingdom of Orissa.[80] Corroborating it, F.E. Pargiter also writes that the Kolarian tribes (including the Khonds) might have come into this region (Utkal) first and subsequently they were driven into the hills by the latter invaders.[81]

Thus is the story of the migration of the aboriginal tribes including the Khonds to the hills and the forests. Yet it cannot be reliably said whether the Khonds were the original settlers of the lowlands near to their present habitats or had migrated from the other regions of our country. Of course some of the Khond tribes claim that they were driven westwards from the lower region of Orissa. Some other tribes aver that they have been pushed eastwards from Central India.[82] In any case they took refuge in the intermediate highlands which formed the Orissa Tributary States; some coming from the Orissa Delta and the others from Central India.[83]

77. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 35.
78. Stephen Fuchs, op. cit., p. 34.
79. Quoted in Madnox Report, Vol. I, p. 152, A C. Sen, Magistrate of Puri to Commissioner, February 22, 1896.
80. Stirling's Account, p. 50;
Campbell's Narrative, p. 25;
E.T. Dalton, op. cit, p. 293.
81. JAS. Vol. LXVI, Part-I, No. 2 F.E. Pargiter's 'Ancient Countries in Eastern India'.
82. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 69, T.E. Ravenshaw to W.W. Hunter, January 5, 1871;
Angul Gazetteer, p. 47.
83. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 69.

Some scholars are of the view that the Gonds, who have occupied the wild highlands of the Central Provinces and the Khonds who are seen in the forest-clustered hills of Orissa, are the two divisions of the same Mon-Khmer tribe.[84] Dalton has also opined that the Khonds are a mixed race and in them probably the Gond, the Kol and Aryan have been blended.[85] If this view is to be accepted then the theory of the advent of the Khonds from the Central Provinces cannot be fully discarded.

Further, the Khond tribes of different places used to relate different stories of their origin. In the Khondmals, the old men of the tribe maintain that in the days of yore they lived at a place called Srambuli Dimbuli adjoining the high range of hills named Derhsaru somewhere in Ganjom or the Central Provinces. When they were pushed back from the fertile lands below, they climbed the hills with courage and felt that they were at the end of the world. Meanwhile they saw at a great distance a large tract of jungles apparently uninabited. Hence they made up their minds to occupy the same. Then they promptly scaled the hills and took possession of the Khondmals and the surrounding tracts. They found a few occupants there and they were soon ousted. They are now found in scattered hamlets of Daspalla and other neighbouring States. But none except the Khonds is to be seen within the Khondmals. The people who were ousted are known as the Kurmus or Kurmis living on cultivation and other peaceful employments. It is said that it was from them that the Khonds learnt the art of cultivation.[86]

There is yet another story prevalent among the Khonds that the Kurmus handed over their holdings peaceably to the Khonds and disappeared from the region by ascending into the clouds. Hence the Khonds remembered them with gratitude and reverence. The Khonds also claimed themselves to be their elder brother, calling them the first-born, and the eldest of Jamo Pennu the creator, and thus invoke his blessing at all

84. C. Chakraberty, *The Racial History of India* (Calcutta, ——) p. 297.
85. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 285.
86. Angul Gaztteer, pp. 47-48,

annual sacrifices.[87] It might be possible also that the Khonds of Khondmals entered the Khondmals from the south about 350 years ago, driving out the feeble and unwar like Kurmus, the original occupants of these tracts.[88]

Friend-Pereira refers to another tradition that the Khonds were driven away by a stronger race from the tract corresponding to the modern Gaya district, and gradually found their way through Chota Nagpur and the Gondwana to the hills which form their present home.[89] But it appears to be a travesty of truth.

In Koraput district, the earliest inhabitants were reported to be the wild Kolarian tribes which still dwell in the hilliest parts of the district. Next to arrive were the tribes of Dravidian origin, and particularly the Khonds. There are still some signs of the entry of the Khonds into the district by a gradual infiltration from the north.[90]

With regard to the Khonds of Patna, their original home is said to have been the hill tracts of Baud and Kimedi. From there, successively they came to Patna traversing through the north-east of Kalahandi. This finds mention in their ancient lore.[91] The first immigration of the Khonds into Patna is said to have occurred during the rule of the Gangas in 12th and 13th century A.D. and continued to flow as late as the rule of the Chauhans. The intermarriage between some present leading Khond families of Patna and Baud corroborates this version.

Division of Khonds—Totemism

The Khond tribe was variously divided and thus not uniform in its structure or habit.[92] Broadly, this tribe had two

87. Ibid. p. 48.
88. H.H. Risley, *The Tribe and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 398.
89. JASB, Part III, 1899, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Some Khond Songs'.
90. Ibid.
91. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 287.
92. Athelstane Baines, op. cit., p. 120; Stephen Fuchs, op. cit., p. 188.

main divisions, namely Hill Khonds and Plain Khonds. While the former residing in the hills retained their primitive customs, the latter dwelling in plain acquired a tincture of Hinduism."[93] Risley has named these two divisions as Malua or Arria Khond and Oriya Khond. While the former adhered strictly to the original observances of the tribe; the latter abandoned many Khond usages and adopted Hindu customs in their place owing to their social intercourse with the Oriyas.[94] Similarly Macpherson has divided the Khonds into three principal classes—namely, a servile class, the 'Benniah' Khonds; and the 'Maliah' Khonds, a class forming a slightly confederated group, and connected with the Zamindary by an alliance.[95] Their economic base was different. The Bethiahs held lands on the condition of labour only; the Benniahs paid rents for the land they held, or accounted for it by service at their choice; and the Maliahs paid no tribute to Zamindars though they were to perform homage for the Chief in the wake of his accession.[96]

The Khonds were again found with different names, and these names bore reference to their general condition and state in life.[97] They were Dongiriya or Jungle Khonds, Desiah Khonds, Kuttia Khonds and Jatapu Khonds.[98] The Dongiriya Khonds, also called Paharia Khonds, were the Hill Khonds who appeared to have possessed the characteristics and qualities of all savage hill tribes.[99] The Desiah Khonds lived in the plain and as such practised cultivation and had adopted some of the Hindu customs and the styles of their dress.[100] Kuttia Khonds living high on the hills were found to have retained their primitive tribal customs. They were named so

93. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* (London, 1916), Vol. III, p. 465.
94. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 398.
95. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 23.
96. S.C. Dutt, *The Wild Tribes of India* (London, 1884), p. 91; H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 100.
97. A.V. Thakkar (Ed) *Tribes of India* (Delhi, 1950), p. 177.
98. L.N. Sahu, op. cit., p. 39.
99. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 201.
100. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 65.

because they used to break the skulls of animals after killing them for food. The word Kuttia means one who breaks or smashes.[101] The Jatapu Khonds were the most advanced of all the four kinds. To a considerable respect they were Brahmanised. While observing the orthodox rules of the Brahmanism in respect of marriage and diet, they did not give up the old tribal Gods, to whom they sacrificed animals through their own priests.[102] There was yet another type called Kachharia Khonds found in Kalahandi State. Cultivators by profession they lived in open country and were more civilised, peaceable, loyal and industrious.[103] The Khonds who inhabited in Kerandi or Mohiri hills of Ganjam were called Tinki Khonds.[104]

Thus it is to be seen that the Khonds were known by different names after their place of habitation and lifestyle.

The Khonds of the plains, had a number of subdivisions which were supposed to be endogamous, though the rule was not strictly observed.[105] Of those the largest were the Raj Khonds. They were usually the landed proprietors and considered themselves superior to all other sections.[106] Hence they married only among themselves.[107]

Traditionally the Khonds had thirty-two exogamous septs called Gochis, but the number has now increased.[108] Scholars like J.D. Anderson and Herbert Risley have enumerated the exogamous septs to be as many as fifty,[109] Whereas E.

101. R.V Russel and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., p. 465.
102. Athelstane Baines, op. cit., p. 121.
103. OHRJ, Vol. XIV, No. 2, 1966, p. XIX, C. Elliot, Deputy Commissioner to Raipur, to George Plowden, Commissioner of Nagpore, July 28, 1856.
104. Ganjan Manual, p. 9.
105. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 465.
106. John. V. Ferreira, *Totemism to Indiia*, (Bombay, 1965), p. 149.
107. Stephen Fuchs, op. cit., p. 183.
108. R.V. Russel and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 466.
109. J.D. Anderson, *The People of India* (Cambridge, 1913), p. 35; H. Risley, G. Grierson and W. Crooke, *The Ethnology, Languages, Literature and Religions of India* (Oxford, 1931), p 27; H Risley, *The People of India* (Reprint, London, 1915), p. 63.

Thurston has listed them as fifty-eight.[110] The septs were named after their villages, titles or nicknames.[111] Each sept believed to have descended from a common ancestor and as a rule dwelt in the commune or group of villages after which the sept was named.[112] These septs were the nearest to the local exogamous tribe which McLennan[113] and the French sociologists believe to be the earliest form of human society.[114] All the members of one sept lived in the same locality around the central village. Mention may be made here of the Tupa sept living around the village of Teplagarh in the Patna State, the Loa sept around Sindhekala, the Borga sept around Bangomunda, and so on.[115]

Each sept was further divided into a number of sub-septs whose names were derived from their totems such as animals, plants and natural objects.[116] Mention may be made of Bachhas (calf), Chhattra (umbrella), Hikoka (horse), Kelka (kingfisher), Konjaka (monkey), Mandinga (earthern pot) and Kadam (a kind of tree).[117] Similarly the Jatapu Khonds who were considered more civilised than others had their own totems such as Koaloka (arrows). Kondacorri (hill sheep), Kutraki (wild goats) and Vinka (white ants) and hence their subsepts were named so.[118]

The names of the septs were taken from the Khond language, and those of sub-septs from Oriya words.

110. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 357.
111. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal op. cit., Vol. III, p. 466; John V Ferreira, op. cit, p. 149.
112. H. Risley, G. Grierson and W. Crooke, p. cit. p. 27.
113. See J.F. McLennan's '*Essay of Primitive Marriage*' published in 1865.
114. J.D. Anderson, op. cit., p. 35; W W. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetter of India* (Reprint. London, 1885), Vol. I, p. 308; H. Risley, *The People of India*, p. 64.
115. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op cit. Vol. III, p. 466.
116. Ibid.
117. John V. Ferreira, op. cit., p. 149.
118. H. Risley, *The People of India*, p. 102.

The sub-sept, like the sept, traced its origin to a single ancestor, but he was a personage of more recent date than the progenitor of the sept. In fact, this sub-sept seemed to be a sort of joint-family expanded to form a village community. The members of this small village community were invited to marriages, festivals and similar domestic ceremonies as it would not be possible to bring together the larger group. But on occasions of greater importance, the entire sept was invited to participate in the discussion. For example, when a casus belli was thought to have arisen between a sept and its neighbours, the entire sept was summoned to meet and consider the question laid before it.[119]

The members of the sub-sept regarded the animals of plants after which it was named as sacred. For example a Kadam group would not stand under the Kadam tree as it was sacred to them. Those of the Narsingha* sept would not kill a tiger or eat the meat of any animal wounded or killed by the tiger.[120]

J.E. Friend-Pereira in his article 'Totemism among the Khonds' has extensively dealt with the sept and sub-sept of the Khonds and specially of the Malua Khonds of the northern section who were divided into communes or canfederacies and septs and sub-septs. The Choota Paju or Choota Padki commune consisted of six territorial areas called mutha, which formed three pairs of sub-communes and one exogamous unit. In each of the six exogamous muthas, there were families of various stocks with different totems. Mention may be made of the elephant, the cudgel, the clarinet, the cane, the chameleon, the potter's hammer and the Kettledrum. Reiterating this point further Friend-Pereira has stated that the Tin Pari or Borgocha commune comprised three dominant septs or communes—Dela Pari with a twig as a totem; Kalea Pari, the totem of which could not be ascertained; and Sidu

119. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 300.

* Narsingha means a man-lion and is one of Vishnu's incarnations; this sub-sept is known to have been formed since the adoption of Hinduism by the Khonds.

120. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 467.

Pari, the members of which would not enter caves or dig wells or tanks. The Bengrika commune had two muthas namely Bhetimendi and Tuniamendi. The totem of the Bheti stock was a torch made of twisted rope. There was one Ath Kombo commune which was a loose confederacy of eight divisions, encompassing two communes with four sub-communes each. Each sub-commune had numerous totems. One important totem was the Hansari (wild duck), which traced its origin to the egg of the wild duck. However the Khonds had a series of exogamous circles extending from the smallest unit to one of truly stupendous magnitude. But the actual exogamous circle was the commune, the members of which were strictly forbidden to marry among themselves, inspite of the fact that they were from different totemic stocks. Thus the exogamy of the Khond was based on real or ficticious blood-relationship between the members of the various stocks constituing the commune. It was also always subject to the wider totemic circle of prohibition that lay outside the limits of the commune. Hence Friend-Pereira concludes that totemism was 'merely a guide for the observance of the rules of exogamy', and not its cause and that the origin of totemism lay in the sphere of religion, and that the totem was the protecting spirit or tutelary deity of the stock which bore its name.[121]

But more recently scholars like F.G. Bailey and H. Niggemeyer have expressed their opinion that the Khonds were not originally totemic. Even now they are not at all strong in their totemic beliefs.[122] But this is not quite true. When these scholars were engaged in their investigations, totem taboos might have disappeared from among some of the Khond tribes.

Appearance

The Khond men were well formed, of a good height.

121. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, Part. III, No. 3, 1904, pp. 53-54, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'
John V. Ferreira, Op. Cit., pp. 14-15.

122. See F.G. Bailey's *Tribe, Caste and Nation* ;
H. Niggemeyer's *Kuttia Kond* (Klaus Renner Verlag, 1964)

good-looking and remarkably active.[123] Macpherson gives a detailed account of them in the following words, "The Khonds are fitted by physical constitution to undergo the severest exertions, and to endure every form of privation. Their height is about the average standard of Hindus of the Peninsula. Their forms are characterized by strength and symmetry. The muscles of the limbs and body are clean and boldly developed. The skin is clean and glossy, its colour ranging from a light bamboo to a deep coper shade, the heel is in a line with the back of the leg, the foot is somewhat larger than that of the Hindu, and instep not highly arched, although the Khond nevertheless has extraordinary speed of foot. The forehead is full and expanded. The cheek bones are high and rather prominent. The nose is seldom though occasionally arched, and is generally broad at the point. The lips are full, but not thick; the mouth is rather large. The whole physiognomy is generally indicative of intelligence and determination, blended with good humour" [124]

Adding some more features Krishan Sharma, a modern scholar, writes, "The complexion of the Konds varies from light brown to brown: their hair has a tendency to be rather wavy. The colour of their hair is dark brown and not very profuse in quantity. The beard and moustache in males are scanty. Their eyes are mostly dark brown, with the iris rayed, the sclera predominantly yellow, dull and speckled. Their eye slits vary from straight to oblique. In some the presence of the eye fold is visible. Eyebrows are medium and separate. Lips are of medium thickness. Nasal indexes vary from platyrrhine to mesorrhine. The nasal profile is predominantly concave. The incisor folds are marked and the body is generally athletic".[125]

J.P. Frye writes further, "In some places the stature is commanding. Many bear a striking resemblance, in the facial angle, the retiring forehead, high cheek bones, and acquiline

123. H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 97;
S.C. Dutt, op. cit., p. 89.
124. Macpherson's Report upon Khods.
125. Krishan Sharma, *The Konds of Orissa, An Anthropometric Study* (New Delhi, 1979), p. 17.

nose, to the American Indian".[126] In this connection H.H. Risely writes, "All observers agree in describing the men as a fine-looking well-formed race of middle height, and great activity and fleetness of foot".[127]

The Khond women were diminutive in stature, coarse in features and seldom good-looking.[128] If they were attractive it was not for their habit of tattooing their faces and smearing themselves with turmeric.[129] H.H. Risley writes, "The women are ugly of feature, short and square of build and exceedingly sturdy and robust. Similar differences of form and feature between the two sexes may be observed among the Rajbansi, the Tibetans, the Mundas and Oraons of Chota Nagpur, and among ethnologists that the tribal type is more sharply defined and more persistent among the women than among the men of a tribe."[130]

The physical stature of the Khonds indicated that they had a higher percentage of the Caspian blood in them.[131]

Thus it is to be observed that the majority of the Khonds were bright tawny in complexion with wavy hair and with prominent cheek bones. They were between short and below medium in stature. They were mainly deliclocephalic mesorrhine people.[132]

Nature of the Khonds

The Khonds are a hardy, war-like race of men, well accustomed to jungle life.[133] They are considered to be as

126. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 8, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
127. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 408.
128. Campbell's Narrative, p. 43 ;
Ganjam Manual, p. 55 ;
M.A. Sherring, *The Tribes and Castes of Madras Presidency* (Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1975), p. 202.
129. Angul Gazetteer, p. 40.
130. H H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 408.
131. C. Chakraberty, op. cit., p. 297.
132. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 2, September 1948-June 1949, p. 141, G.S Ray's 'A study of the Physical Characters of the Kondhs'.
133. Andrew H.L. Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots* (Indian Reprint, Allahabad, 1975), p. 137.

fierce as they were formidable and the primitive Khonds were as inexplicably mysterious as nature herself.[134] In fact, the Khonds exhibited primitive virtues which more civilized nations might envy.[135] At the same time they were cheerful, mobile, reserved, self-possessed, generous and polite and glad to talk with one who knew their language.[136] They were also bold, and fitfully laborious mountain peasantry of dignified manners; upright in their conduct, sincere in their superstitions; proud of their position as landholders; and tenacious of their rights.[137] The Khonds are faithful to their friends, resolute, brave, hospitable and, unlike the Hindus in the plains, they are simple-minded enough to prefer a truth to a lie.[138] Death was preferred by them to transportation for life. The Khonds were great lovers of liberty.[139] After the abandonment of brutal Meriah sacrifice, they were found to have been the kindest of men.[140] Intellectually the Khonds were also by no means dull and stupid.[141]

"The two great virtues of the Khonds", writes Hunter, "are their fidelity and their valour. From the first springs an excessive hospitality, which knows no bounds, and which leads them into drunkenness and feuds. 'For the safety of a guest', runs the Khond proverb, 'life and honour are pledged; he is to be considered before a child', 'Every stranger is an invited guest'. As soon as a traveller enters a village, the heads of the families respectfully solicit him to share their meal. He may remain as long as he chooses; 'a guest can

134. Adivasi, Vol. XII, 1970-71, Nos. 1-4, p. 22.
135. W.W. Hunter, A *Statistical Account of Bengal* (London, 1877), Vol. XIX, p. 224.
136. M.W.M. Yeatts, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, p. 200 ;
Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 91 ;
Anthrop. Anz. Vol. IV, 1927, pp. 208-209, E. Von Eikstedt's 'Die Soras'.
137. E Thurston. op. cit , Vol. III, p. 358.
138. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 59.
139. Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
140. Verrier Elwin, *A brief survey of the aboriginal Tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput* (Cuttack, 1946) p. 17.
141. Angul Gazetteer, p. 71.

never be turned away' Fugitives from the field of battle, and even escaped criminals, must be hospitably received."[142] Thus the Khonds treated any stranger, whatever his rank, as an equal. It is corroborated by R.C.S. Bell.[143] If a Khond could make his way by any means into the house of his enemy, it was a case of refuge, and he could not be touched, even though his life was forfeited to his involuntary host by the law of blood-revenge. In the Khond community the laws of hospitality acted as a check on the custom of blood-revenge, and the Khond theory of chronic war.[144] One creature alone among the human race could claim no shelter—the unhappy Meriah, or victim set apart for human sacrifice.[145]

The fidelity of the Khonds to their Chiefs and their allies knew no limit. This could be best illustrated by their support to the Raja of Ghumsar when he rebelled against the British authority in 1835. On his death bed the clans pledged for the safety of his family. When the British troops advanced to the Khond tracts of Ghumsar, they preferred devastation and death to perfidy.[146] Thus oaths and promises are sacred for the Khonds. Even death is preferred to the breach other of their promise.

The Khonds are quite humorous. Sly jokes coupled with bursts of laughter are often made by them. They are fond of giving nicknames to each other. Those are called Kapka-pada, i.e., a laughing name, or a la-pada, i.e., a girl's name. They could be easily amused. But if rough words are spoken to them, they grow sullen and discontented.[147]

All the same there are some vices in the character of the Khonds Some anthropologists and British officials have also discovered such vices in them. Risley depicts the Khonds as

142. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 227-228.
143. R.C.S. Bell, Op. Cit., p. 66.
144. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 228.
145. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds. p. 50.
146. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 229.
147. Angul Gazetteer, p. 70.

'shy and timid, hating contact with the inhabitants of the plains'.[148] Similarly a modern anthropologist, Verrier Elwin, has described Khonds as 'the most difficult, timid and suspicious of all the Orissa highlanders. This he as stated, was 'due to their long conflict with Government over human sacrifice and infanticide'.[149]

Colonel Campbell also writes, "To European ideas they (Khonds) are certainly most repulsive. If, as some have asserted, they are the descendants of the Indo-Tartar tribes that fled for refuge to the mountaineous forests from the pursuit of the destroyer, I can say that they have contrived to lose all the intellectual and nearly all the physical attributes by which these people were characterized. The Khonds are a degenerate race, with all the ignorance and superstition of savages" [150] Reiterating further he has described the Khonds as 'sunk in the depths of ignorance, supersition and sensuality. They are not so expert at a lie as their more civilized neighbours of the plains, but regard for truth for its own sake, they have none'. But his description seems to be one sided. That is because he never lived amongst the Khonds. He only marched through the country in the winter months at the head of military force, capturing their Meriahs in order to supress human sacrifice, which was their most sacred rite. If they told lie to him, it was all for their extreme love for the sacrifice. Hence to say that they had absolutely no regard for truth, is not correct. As a matter of fact, the Khonds in this regard have been misunderstood. They were too ignorant to explain matters in a sensible manner or tell a story in a connected and intelligent manner. And when they could not explain things in proper prospective, their statements were considered a bundle of lies.

Of course it is true that the Khonds are very superstitious,

148. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 397.
149. Verrier Elwin, *A brief Survey of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput*, p. 34.
150. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 14-15.
151. Angul Gazetteer, p. 69.

ignorant and addicted to drunkenness,[151] Occasionally they showed their love of revenge, and even for brutal passion.[152]

One G.F. Paddison has made a special study of Khond problems in 1916 and submitted a report to the Madras Government. He has made a mention therein that by that time the Khonds had lost many of the good qualities in their character and that was largely due to their intercourse with the people of the plains.[153]

Despite the high qualities found in the Khonds, the Oriya Hindus did not recognise the same. They considered the Khonds as only a little superior to the impure Doms (musicians and sweepers), and said, 'Khandh ghare Domna Mantri,' or 'In a Khond house the Dom is the Minister.'[154]

Early History

There is no written record regarding the early history of the Khonds.[155] Still then it can be traced from the Vedic Age basing on the references in other literary works. In the Rig-Vedic Age are found some common features in the Vedic religion and that of the Khonds. The worship of ancestors or fathers is one such common feature. The Khond ancestors are believed to have accepted the essence and benefits of sacrifices as the other goods and spirits of the Vedic Age. This fact establishes, though faintly the link of the Khonds with the Vedic culture.[156]

It was in 261 B.C. that Ashoka conquered the kingdom of Kalinga which extended from the river Ganges to the Godavari. During the war some tribal groups were known to have fled to the hill tracts. The Khonds might be one such tribe. Ashoka was kind to them. His kindness and benevolence towards them have been reflected in his Rock Edict XIII. It is written there, "The Beloved of the Gods even reasons with the forest tribes in his empire, and seeks to reform them. But the

152. Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 100.
153. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 91.
154. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 470.
155. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 293.
156. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 211

Beloved of the Gods is not only compassionate, he is also powerful, and he tells them to repent lest they be slain. For the Beloved of the Gods desires safety, self-control, justice and happiness for all beings."[157] All the tribes of course did not move to hill tracts. There remained behind some who gradually adjusted themselves to live with the Aryans. This can be known from scattered hamlets of Oriya speaking Hinduised Khonds found in the mid-nineteenth century on the plains. Even today small bilingual and partially acculturated Khonds are also found living in the foothills. But in the hill tracts some of the tribes were determined to maintain their independence.[158]

However, the Khonds were known to have little contact with the Aryans of the plains till the end of the third century A.D. It was in the fourth century A.D. during the Gupta Age that the Khonds were known to have appeared in the political scenerio of India. Samudra Gupta, the redoubtable emperor of the Gupta dynasty, during his southern campaign conquered South Kosala, Mahakantara, Kottura, Erandapalle and Devarastra. While South Kosala has been identified with the vast hilly and forest-clad tracts of the Upper Mahanadi Valley, Mahakantara is identified with modern Kalahandi and Koraput districts of Orissa and Bastar districts of Madhya Pradesh. Similarly Kottura, Erandapalle and Devarastra have been identified with certain regions in the Ganjam district of Orissa and the anjoining Teluguspeaking tract.[159] A large portion of all these territories were inhabited by the tribal people like Khonds and others. As such they might have been affected by Samudra Gupta's campaign. Furthermore, the Brahamans of the Gupta Age were known to have received presents of land located in the small princely boarders of the Khond country.

157. A.L. Basham, *The Wonder That was India* (New York, 1959), Vol. I, p. 53.
158. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, pp. 211-212.
159. N.K. Sahu, *History of Orissa* (Utkal University, 1964), Vol I, pp. 433-434 ;
K.C. Panigrahi, *History of Orissa*, (Cuttack, 1981), p. 43.

In 1041 A.D. the Chola Empire in South India expanded northwards to include the Kalinga of Orissa's coastal plains and probably caused stirrings on the south and south-east of of the Khond counry.[160]

During the Gupta rule, the Matharas were ruling over Orissa. And a large portion of the southern Orissa, Srikakulam and Vizagapatam district were under the Matharas who did not acknowledge the overlordship of the Gupta power.[161] As some Khond tracts were included in such districts very likely the Khonds had remained under Mathara suzerainty.

Similarly, the Khonds might be under the indirect influence of another dynasty ruling in Orissa. They were the Nalas who were said to have ruled over a territory now identified with the Koraput district of Orissa and the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh.[162]

There are no adequate evidence to show that the Sailodbhavas who ruled in Orissa from the sixth century A.D. to the eighth century A.D. and the Somavamsis (A.D. 882-1110)[*] had any contact with the Khond tracts of Orissa.

But the Bhanja rulers played a remarkable role in spreading the Orissan culture in the hill tracts of Orissa.[163] This can be known from the existence of the different Bhanja families of Ghumsar and Baud which are the Khond dominated areas of Orissa. Several copper plate grants of the Bhanjas are found in Baud-Phulbani area and Ganjam district contiguous to Phulbani.[164] In 832 A.D., Banamali Bhanja, the younger brother of Raghunath Bhanja of Baud, is known to have come to Khinjali or Baragadia to quell the Khond rebellions.[165]

160. C. Colin Davies, *A Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula* (London, 1959), pp. 27-29 ;
Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 215.
161. K.C Panigrahi, op. cit., p. 47.
162. N.K. Sahu, *Odia Jatira Itihasa* (In Oriya, Bhubaneswar, 1977), p. 249.
163. K.C. Panigrahi, op. cit., p. 134.
164. R.C. Majumdar (Ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Reprint, Bombay, 1984), pp. 69-74.
165. D. Behera, *Freedom Movement in the State of Ghumsar in Orissa* (Calcutta, 1984), p.4.

Those were the ancient names of Ghumsar. There at Chokapaud he succeeded in subduing the rebellions of Khonds in 832 A.D. and brought the whole of Ghumsar under his control. He ruled over the estate from that time onwards.[166] Furthermore, another powerful Bhanja ruler of Ghumsar, Pratap Bhanja (A.D. 1190-1207) by name, had defeated a brave Khond Chief and killed his subsequently. He was Kulla Khond. But Pratap Bhanja was so much pleased with the bravery of this deceased Khond leader that he constructed a fort in the battle field and named it as 'Kullada'.[167]

It was from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century A.D. that the Khonds also figured in the history of Orissa. That was the period of the heyday of the Gangas and Gajapatis when the southern boundary of Orissa was extended as far as the river Kaveri. The wild nature of the Khond dominated areas rendered their administration difficult in such regions. Their hegemony over the Khonds was nominal so that they could conveniently keep the Khonds and Savaras in check.

It was during the same Ganga and Gajapati rule that the Sultanate of Delhi attained its zenith. Their rule stretched over the whole of India including the areas occupied by Orissa's unpacified hill-tribes. The same was the state of affair during the Mughal and Maratha rules in Orissa. It was during the British rule that the history of the Khonds became more eventful.

After discussing the general history of the Khonds, it is desirable to focus their history in different regions such as Daspalla, Angul, Ghumsar, Khondmals and Jeypore.

Daspalla

In Daspalla, Narayan Bhanja, the successor of Sal Bhanja,

166. MJLS, Vol. VII, January-June 1838, pp. 93-96, W. Taylor's 'Some additional Notes on the Hill inhabitants of the Goomsoor Mountains, with the translation of a Telugu paper containing a historical narrative of Bhonju family, feudal chieftains of Gumsara'.

167. Robert Swell, *Archaelogical Survey of South India* (Madras, 1882). Vol. I, p. 2.

conquered some of the Khond villages. Padmanav Bhanja was the next Chief to conquer that part of the State which is now called Khond Desha. He was known to have defeated a Khond Chief or Mallik and established his capital at Kunjaban Garh, a Khond inhabited place. The twelfth Chief of this Bhanja family of Daspalla, Krishna Chandra Bhanja, conquered the Khond tracts named Nasaghar and Baisipalli.[168]

Angul

Regarding the history of the Khonds of Angul, there is a legend. In distant past a vast area including Angul was occupied by a few tribes, the Khonds being the dominant among them. It was divided into a number of independent principalities, each of which was governed by a Khond Sardar or Chief. Later on the king of Orissa succeeded in establishing his sway over the Khonds. They acknowledged his suzerainty by paying him tribute. But the last of the Khond Sardars, Anu, by name, withheld the tribute and raised a rebellion against the king. So he sent an embassy to the Sardar with some Rajput adventurers from Mathura. They found the people seething with discontent under his rule and promised to help them against him. A conspiracy was cooked against Anu. It was also followed by a struggle. He was then deposed with the help of a 'Gol' i.e., a battle or plot. Then they ruled over the land, and in commemoration of their conquest the area of the Sardar was called Angul (a corruption of Angol).[169]

Ghumsar

It was because of persuation by the British Governor in Bengal, Lord Clive, that the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam issued his imperial Firman or Sanad on the 12th August 1765 handing over the Northern Sarkars as Inam or free gift to the English.[170] Accordingly the Ganjam district including

168. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 159.
169. Angul Gazetteer, pp. 1-2.
John Sullivan, *Observations respecting the circar of Maxulipatam in a letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company* (London, 1780), p. 19.

Ghumsar zamindary came under the authority of the British East India Company in 1766.[171] Edward Cotsford was appointed the Resident and Engineer of Ganjam in December 1766.[172] Since then Ghumsar was administratively taken over by the British.[173] So he was the first British official to report about the Khonds to the British Government.

At that time the Raja of Ghumsar was Krishna Bhanja. He refused to pay the heavy tribute fixed by the British authorities and raised a sort of rebellion against the British Government. He was supported by the hill tribes, mostly the Khonds. A good number of tribal people sacrificed their lives in the encounter with the British troops. In India, it was the first sanguinary revolt of the tribals against British rule.[174]

Thereafter, continuous unrest was afoot in the zamindary of Ghumsar due to the mismanagement of the zemindry.[175] In 1778, Raja Vikram Bhanja of Ghumsar failed to pay the tribute in time and revolted against the British authority. At the approach of the British troops he fled to Maliah hills to get the support of the Khonds.[176] So one Thomas Oakes was made the Manager of the Ghumsar estate. Meanwhile Raja Vikram Bhanja set his Khond subjects against the Company's Government, and let loose a reign of terror all over the estate.[177] Nearly four thousand Khond adherents of Raja Vikram Bhanja proceeded to the plains for loot and arson. But they were refrained from doing so by the timely interven-

171. Aitchison's Collection, Vol V, p. 11.
172. J. T. Wheeler, *Early Records of ritish India, A History of the English Settlemenis In India* (Delhi, 1772), pp, 13-14.
173. Robert Orme, *Selection from the Government and people of Indostan* (Lucknow, 1971), p. 11.
174. N. R. Patnaik, *Swadhinata Andolanare Odissara Adivasi* O, *Laxman Naik* (In Oriya, Bhubanewar, 1990), p. 2.
175. P. Mukherjee, *History of Orissa* (Utkal University, 1964), Vol.VI., p. 190.
176. MJLS, Vol VII, January-June 1838, p. 102, W.Taylor's 'Some additional notes on the hill inhabitants of the Goomsoor mcuntains, with the translation of a Telugu paper, containing a historical narrative of Bhonju family, feudal chieftains of Ghumsara'.
177. Ganjam Manual, pp. 110-111.

tion of Lakshman Bhanja, the elder brother of Vikram Bhanja. And that was because he was hopeful of being resorted to the gadi of Ghumsar with the help of the British. Lakshman Bhanja could also convince the Khonds not to join the rebellion against the British as it would be a futile adventure. Simple that they were, the Khond rebels were convinced of this and left the plains with the lavish presents of many kinds given by Lakshman Bhanja who was then an ally of the British Government.[178]

As a reward in 1783, the Zamindary rights of Ghumsar were taken out from Vikram Bhanja and handed over to Lakshman Bhanja.[179] Meanwhile Lakshman Bhanja died in 1788 and he was succeeded by his son Srikar Bhanja. Then chaos and disorder continued to hold sway in Ghumsar.[180] There was a widespread discontent among the people of Ghumsar against the British authorities. In 1799 Raja Srikar Bhanja raised a rebellion against the Government with the support of some zamindars and Khonds. But this rebellion was suppressed and Srikar Bhanja was deposed and his son Dhananjay Bhanja was placed on the throne with the help of the British. He, too, created some sort of troubles for the British Government and resisted their authority with the help of the Khonds.[181] But it was in vain. He was sent to Chingleput as a state prisoner.[182] The role of the Khonds in Ghumsar did not end there. It was again in February 1817 that the Khonds here rose in revolt against the oppressive administration of the British Amin or Chief Revenue Collector. But somehow it was suppressed by the British authorities.[183]

178. Quoted in D Behera's *Freedom Movement in the State of Ghumsar in Orissa*, p 18, Petition of Lakshman Bhanja to the chief of Ganjam, August 12, 1778.
179. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p.3, August 12, 1836.
180. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V No IX, 1846, p. 7, A Duff's 'Goomsur ; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
181. Ganjam Manual p. 128.
182. SRG (Madras), H. Spottiswood, Collector of Ganjam to Government of Madras, June 24, 1815.
Ganjam Manual, p. 140.
183. D. Behera, *Freedom Movement in the State of Ghumsar in Orissa*, p. 29.

However, after the imprisonment of Dhananjay Bhanja, the Ghumsar State was managed by his principal followers for three years. One of them was the Khond leader Dora Bissoi.

In the mean time a sensational event took place in the history of Orissa. That was the Paik Rebellion of 1817. Under the leadership of Bakshi Jagabandhu, the Paikas of Khurda launched this rebellion against the British in 1817. One of the causes of this rebellion was the incursion of a body of Khonds from Ghumsar into the Banpur area. Theirs was not a predatory incursion but a retaliatory measure against the British Government as the situation of Ghumsar and Khurda was identical.[184] Like that of Khurda, the Raja Srika Bhanja of Ghumsar was imprisoned after forefeiting his estate. Moreover, the Rajas, and principal officers of both the states were allied by marriage.[185] However, in March 1817, four hundred Khonds entered Banpur where they were joined by the Paiks, Dalais and Dalbeheras under the leadership of Bakshi Jagabandhu.[186] The insurgents including Khonds attacked the police station, treasury and other government offices at Banpur where they killed one hundred government officials and looted fifteen thousand rupees from the Government treasury.[187] From Banpur the insurgents, mostly Khonds, marched to Khurda where they sacked the treasury and burnt down the government buildings.[188] Then they entered Puri under the leadership of Bakshi Jagabandhu. They burnt the government Kutchery and several other private and public buildings.[189] Thus the role of the Khonds in the Paik rebellion was most remarkable.

184. Jagannath Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa* (Allahabad, 1988), Vol. I, pp. 264-265.
185. Guide to Orissan Records, Vol. II, p. 17, H B. Bayley, Acting Chief Secretary to the Government, August 10, 1817.
186. George Toynbee, *A Sketeh of the History of Orissa, 1803-1828* (Calcutta, 1873), p. 16.
Bengal District Gazetteer, Midnapo e, (1911), p. 39.
187. George Toynbee, Op. Cit., p. 16.
188. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 8), E. Impey to Government, March 30, 1817.
189. P.K. Pattnaik, *A Forgotten Chapter of Orissan History* (Calcutta, 1979), p. 183 ;
K.N. Mohapatra, *Khurudha Itihas* (In Oriya, Bhubaneswar, 1969), p. 295.

It was towards June 1818, that again the Khonds of Ghumsar assisted by the Panas of Khallikote made frequent incursions into Banpur and engaged themselves in looting. It was difficult for the government officials of Banpur to suppress them. That was because these Khonds resorted to guerilla warfare. Finally a powerful British force under G.B. Bell made a sudden attack on the Khonds at night. In this encounter Khond Chief Bajrang Singh as captured. Thereafter the British troops could easily subdue these Khonds.[190]

In May 1819, there was yet another incursion of the Khonds and Paras of Ghumsar to Banpur. It was headed by one Sheo Naik.[191] The Khonds were known to have been instigated by Bakshi Jagabandhu as is known from the letter of Brigadier L. Thomas, commanding at Cuttack, to the Commissioner dated 14th July 1819. Meanwhile, the Joint Magistrate of Khurda received information that Bakshi Jagabandhu was staying in one of the Khond villages near the border of Ghumsar. So a party of sepoys under Brigadier Thomas made a surprise attack. But Bakshi Jagabandhu managed to escape.[192] Of course Bakshi Jagabandhu at last surrendered to the British and there was an end to the Paik Rebellion. Despite the suppression of the Paik Rebellion, the way the freedom-loving Khonds fought against the British had surprised the British authorities and the people of Orissa as well.

In the mean time Raja Srikar Bhanja of Ghumsar incurred the displeasure of the British Government by giving shelter in his estate to Bakshi Jagabandhu and he was alleged to have helped the Khonds to invade Banpur. Furthermore, Srikar Bhanja could not make any satisfactory arrangements for payment of the arrear amount due to the British Government.[193] So he was replaced by his son Dhananjaya Bhanja in 1832.[194] For three years Dhananjaya Bhanja managed the affairs of the estate successfully. One of the reasons of his

190. S.N. Dash, *Paik Bidroh* (In Oriya, Puri, 1958), p. 67.
191. P. Mukherjee, Op. Cit , Vol. VI, p. 103.
192. Guide to Orissan Records, Vol III, pp. 72-73, Officer Commanding, Bolgarh to M.H. Turnbell, Magistrate, July 25, 1819.
193. Ganjam Manual p. 147.
194. SRG (Madras), Russel's Report, Vol II, p. 10, August 12, 1836.

success was the able and timely counsel of Khond Chief Dora Bissoi.[195] The relations between Raja Dhananjay and the Government remained normal and cordial.[196] But by 1835, this relation had deteriorated. In 1835 Dhananjay was dispossessed of his zamindary by the British Government. A few days later, Dhananjay Bhanja died. His death was followed by a widespread disturbances all over Ghumsar, especially in Khond dominated areas.[197] This is narrated separately in this work.

Khondmals

Similar was the significance of the history of the Khonds in Khondmals, specially after the British conquest of Orissa in 1803 A.D. This Khondmals was a part of the State of Baud, the chief of which tendered his submission to the British like other chiefs of the Hill Tracts. But till 1837 the Khonds of Khondmals hardly attracted the notice* of the British. Their attention was drawn that year when the British officials informed of the prevalence of human sacrifice and infanticide among the Khonds.[198] Since then there were sporadic uprisings and insurrections by the Khonds from time to time in this area. That was because the Raja of Bodagoda and Sanakhemundi did not accept the sovereignty of the British rule and this action of theirs affected the Khonds.[199]

Jeypore

Jeypore was another Khond-inhabited estate connected

195. Ganjam Manual, p. 148.
196. SRG (Madras) Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 10, August 12, 1836.
197. Ganjam Manual, p. 148.

Even Andrew Stirling, a well-informed authority seems to have little idea of the Kondmals, as known from references to the Khonds in his Account of Orissa published in 1822, he says : "The natives have the idea of a district situated between Daspalla, Boad and Gumsir, inhabited entirely by this tribe of hill people which they call Khondra. I believe that the vast unexplored tracts of mountain and forest lying at the back of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam hill estates, down as far as the Godavari, are people chiefly by Khonds in a very savage state".

198. Angul Gazetteer, p. 21,
199. S.B. Thiady, Op. Cit., p. 17.

with their fate. It was a mostly unknown region to the British Officer of the district till 1819. That year, Thackeray, a member of the Board of Revenue, drew the attention of the British authorities through a report. His report spoke of the hill tracts of Vizagapatam as being 'a wide tract of hills and jungles, inhabited by uncivilized and unconquered barbarians; their climate and their poverty has secured them from conquest. No great native Government ever seems to have thought this tract worth conquering. It has been left as a waste corner of the earth to wild beasts and conds. Nobody seems to have known even the boundary. This tract has never been explored; there is a blank left here in the maps'.[200]

Thus it is to be observed that very little was known about the Khonds till the British officers brought them to the lime light by way of submitting reports of supressing their revolts.*

200. R.C.S. Bell, Op. Cit., p. 33.

* One of the earliest references to the Khonds was made by John Garstin, Surveyor-General, in his letter to George Dowdeswell, Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, dated 4th July 1810. He wrote thus, "The Khunds, who inhabit the country bounded by Boad on the north, Duspullah on the east, and Goomsur on the south, are to be considered an independent tribe, inhabiting a mountainous and difficult country, and preserving a system of general combination wh ch they exercise invariably for the preservation and inviolability of their lands and sometimes for the most effective aggression on their neighbours, whose general policy is directed to purchase their forbearance by any sufficient act of concession or reconciliation in passing along the confines of their country" *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. V, No. IX, Jan-March 1846, 'Human Sacrifices in Orissa'). Further, in a report by Major Roughsedge, dated 25th March 1821, he notices that two Khondshad been introduced to him by the Raja of Baud. One of them named Ghasi Malik was implicated soon after in the attack on a village that was plundered by the Khonds, when twenty of the villagers were murdered. E.T. Dalton has claimed that this is the first mention of the Bengal Khonds in the official documents. (E.T. Dalton, Op. Cit,, p. 285) But the Khonds of Ghumsar have been mentioned long before by the British officials in their reports.

1

Political Structure and British Administration in Khond Tracts

The Khonds had their own political structure. Of course it is difficult to throw adequate light on the same. In this connection, F.G. Bailey writes, "It is not possible to analyse political activity in the Khond tracts and get anywhere near to reality in the framework of a single structure".[1] Yet an effort has been made to throw light on the political organisations of the Khonds. However, a systematic discussion on the British administration in Khond tracts can be made with the help of the British records available in the matter.

Administrative Units

The Khond hill country was usually divided into certain units, large and small. The large divisions were called Maliahs, Malos, or Mals.*[2] However these were subdivided into small

1. F.G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, p. 12.
   * J.P. Fry writes, "The term Maliah, or Malo, rendered 'hill tracts', is a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Mala' signifying 'a garland' and is applied to the continuous jungles which cover the surface of the Eastern Ghauts". (JRASGBI, Vol XVII, 1859-60 p. 1, J. P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'). This view has been supported by D.F. Charmichael (Vizagapatam Manual, p- 90). But all those words do not seem to have originated from the word 'Mala' meaning garland. In Oriya language 'Mala' means highland. So it appears to be more appropriate with regard to the origin of the words-Maliah, Malso or Mal.
2. E.T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, p. 299.

units called muthas. Mutha or commune consisted of a groups of villages supposed to have been inhabited by the descendants of a single ancestor.[3] And each Khond village was composed of a few hamlets being tied together.

The Khonds lived under a semi-patriarchal and semifeudal government, with a strongly developed nationality of their own.[4] Accordingly, some administrative divisions were made such as villages and districts, the chief of which were always selected for their valour. While the former was headed by the village chiefs with limited jurisdiction, the latter was the head of the district or superior chiefs, who exercised greater powers.[5]

In each Khond family absolute authority rested with the house-father.[6] His authority could be known from a Khond maxim which says, "A man's father is his God, disobedience to whom was a great crime" Thus all the members of the family lived united in strict subordination to its head until his death.[7] He managed the family affairs.[8] The individual Khond families united into little village communities, each being headed by a chief or the village head.[9] These chiefs of the villages were called Majis in Chinna Kimedy; Mallikas in Ghumsar; and Khonros in Baud.[10] With no exception every Khond village had its headman and his office was hereditary in the male line. They exercised considerable influence like working as arbitrators in petty disputes between the villages.[11] Each village headman was assisted by an officer, rather like a

3. H.H Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I p. 409; Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 91.
4. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 71.
5. H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 100.
6. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal* (London, 1877), Vol. XIX, p. 219.
7. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 34, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; the Late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
8. Angul Gazetteer, p. 40.
9. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 219
10. Compbell's Narrative, p. 120.
11. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol.I, p. 409.

minister, called Digaloo. And the most efficient spokesman in the village was always selected for this post.[12] The duties of the Digaloo were manifold such as regulating the public meetings and assemblies of the people.[13] Very often these Digaloos were of the Pana caste, one who was most useful to the Khond tribes, although the Khonds regarded this caste as much inferior to them.[14] However, besides Digaloo, the village chief was assisted in the administration of the village by the Chhatia or village watchman. Originally a functionary of the village community, he was subsequently given police duties and his services were thus utilized for administrative purposes.[15]

Thus the family of the Khonds was strictly patriarchal, with the father exercising his absolute rule in every case.

The village matters were decided in the meeting of the village councils. These councils were purely of a democratic nature and such meetings were attended by women although they were not permitted to take part in deliberations except in cases concerning them.[16] That was because the women as a rule were not trusted with any matter of importance. "They may betray counsel", said the Khonds, "though the youngest stripling who can bear an axe will never blab of what has been confined to him".[17] However, the ordinary members of the Khond society, both men and women, enjoyed the right to attend the meeting and voice their opinions. Of course, the head of each household used to take ultimate decisions in most of the matters.[18]

The mutha was yet another political unit complete in all respects.[19] Its headman was usually called the Mutha Mallika.

12. S. C. Dutt, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 91.
13. H. B. Rowney, Op. Cit., p. 100.
14. Campbell's Narrative, p. 50.
15. Angul Gazetteer, p. 35.
16. S. C. Dutt, Op. Cit., pp. 91-92.
17. H.B. Rowney, Op- Cit., p. 101.
18. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 12.
19. F.G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, p. 178.

But the mutha chief of Kuttia Khonds was called Pat Maji.[20] The Mutha Mallika was asked chiefly to settle the social disputes. Besides him each mutha had a Hindu superintendent called Bissoi or Mutha-Sardar. They were known to have been appointed by the Khonds themselves in order to act as intermediaries between them and the Hindu Rajas of the neighbourhood and thus were endowed with grants of land for their maintenance.[21] They spoke both Oriya and Khond languages and were well versed in Khond customs because of which they exercised great influence.[22] Speaking of the status of Bissois John Campbell writes, "These men are Hindoos, and are usually descended from some daring adventurer whose fallen fortunes had driven him to the hills, where, with his band of retainers, he had been warmly welcomed by the mountain tribes, as the Khonds regard these Hindoo warriors as much more capable of ruling over them, and especially of leading them to battle, than any of their own tribe".[23] Subsequently it was during the British administration that Mutha-Sardar became the intermediary between the village community and the Government. He discharged the function of communicating the wishes of the former to the Government officials and conveying the orders of the latter to the villagers. They were also to see that such orders were carried out. This Mutha-Sardar got as remuneration a Tambi i.e. one and half seer of rice every year for each landholder.[24] In certain places, this work was performed by the Oriya officials variously designated as Mahalik, Naik or Dalabehera. While the Bissoi and Mahalik represented the civil managers of the Districts, the Naik and Dalabehera held military authority.[25]

In certain muthas or groups of muthas the same type of officials were called Patros. In such cases a Patro was

20. Ganjam Manual, p. 53.
21. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 409.
22. E. T. Dalton, Op. Cit., p. 299.
23. Campbell's Narrative, p. 50.
24. Angul Gazetteer, p. 35.
25. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 39.

ordinarily an Oriya. The Patros descended hereditarily and as such did not become happy if a heir was set aside without reason. The Oriya Patros were provided with Oriya Paiks and armed peons living in the chief village or fort, and they held their lands on the condition of service. They used to come to the assistance of the zamindars if the Khonds wanted to defend them. Under the British administration they used to assist the Government in putting down the unwanted Khonds, if necessary. In the Kuttia country the Patros were chiefly the Gonds, but in Ghumsar they claimed themselves as the descendants of the Nala Vamsa family.[26] The office of the Patro was usually held for generations by one and the same family. The hereditary Patros used to pay a moderate tribute to the Hindu Rajas of the neighbourhood.[27] A Patro was expected to pay his respect to the local Raja once a year with his peons by presenting a Nuzzer. He used to get a piece of cloth in turn.[28]

The Oriya headman and his Khond counterpart appeared as a lord, and the division he administered was more or less a community. The new comers wishing to join his community used to pay allegiance to him and they received from him, as the representative of the Government, protection and validation of their right to land granted to them.[29]

The duties of the tribal patriarchs were chiefly to tackle the breaches of the tribal rules.[30] In any matter if the tribe was requested to work as a whole, tribal councils were called for the purpose.[31] The council sat in open air in concentric circles. While the inner circle was composed of the village patriarchs. Outside the circle sat the general public. Like the village

26. Ganjam Manual, pp. 53-55.
27. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 12.
28. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Aesn 2210 KOR), Madras Government, D F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
29. F.G. Bailey *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, p. 180.
30. E.T. Dalton, Op. Cit., p. 293.
31. Angul Gazetteer, p. 40.

councils, these district councils could be attended by the women, but they were not allowed to take part in the discussion.[32] In these councils the opinions of the elders were generally accepted.[33] An example of the work of the tribal patriarchs can be cited. At one time military aid was required by the Rajas of Ghumsar and Baud. They communicated their desires to the federal patriarch. In turn, he supplied them the necessary aid for the purpose.[34]

Thus it is to be seen that there were three tiers in the Khond organisation, i.e., the family, the sept and the tribe. Each of these three organisations had its own representative assembly. Of those while the members of the federal council were chosen from the tribal patriarchs, that of the tribal assembly were from the branch or sept-patriarchs, and that of the village council from among the house-fathers.[35]

Furthermore, the socio-political system of the Khonds was purely patriarchal in spirit and form.[36] The Khond patriarch called Abbaya, literally meaning father, whether of a tribe, a sept, or a village, was in the true sense of the term, the father, the Magistrate, and the High Priest of the Khonds.[37] The principles of the Family and the Election tinged with the religious feeling rendered his office sacred. He received no pay, nor any official privileges except the respect and veneration which accrued to him as a leader, father and priest.[38] Major Macpherson has praised highly the loyalty of the Khonds to their head men. It is said that their devotion to the federal Abbaya was "equal to any that the annals of humanity record".[39] A patriarch had no separate residence or stronghold; no retainers; no property save his ancestral fields,

32. E.T. Dalton, Op. Cit., p. 294.
33. Angul Gazetter, p. 40.
34. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 26.
35. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 219-220.
36. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 27.
37. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 220.
31. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 30.
39. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, 1846, p. 42.

for cultivation on which he lived. He received neither any tribute nor aid.[40] No one fed to his wants either.[41]

A patriarch of a tribe, irrespective of the degree of his personal authority, undertook no measures except in emergency and transacted no affairs without the assistance and sanction of the Abbayas. However he held the charge of the relationship of his own tribe with those of the neighbouring areas and principalities. He led his men in war, and extended military aids to the Hindu Chiefs. At home he was the protector of the public order and the arbiter of private wrongs; conciliating feuds and dispensing justice. However, it depended entirely on his personal influence and the efficiency of his assessors. He convened a council of the Abbayas, or of the whole tribe, as usage warranted, either for deliberative or judicial purposes. Furthermore, he discharged the local duties of a patriarch of his family subdivision (sept) and as the head of his village as well.[42]

Among the Khonds, the patriarchal office was hereditary in the family. But the person to hold the office was not always the eldest son although he held a prior right to the post. In case his character made him unfit for the post, he would make way for a younger brother or an uncle. The two essential requisites for the patriarchal office, therefore, were personal fitness and birth in the scheduled family. Of course no formal election took place. If the eldest son was found unsuitable, his case was silently ignored as if it was done by the members of the family. In case of temporary incapacity for minority or for any other cause, the next of kin on the male side, being a person of approved discretion, used to head the patriarchal office.[43]

Thus the Khonds' socio-political organization was regulated by the harmonious action of two principles, namely the birth in the recognised family and personal fitness for the work.

40. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 221.
41. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 30.
42. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 221.
43. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 31 ;
W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 220.

As to the qualification of the patriarchs or Abbayas, their talent, intelligence, courage and learning were taken into account. Macpherson himself came into contact with three Abbayas of Borgoootza who could read the Shastras with great ease. Similarly the Majhi of Nowsagur in Daspalla was found to have learnt all that was generally taught in that zamindary. The patriarch of Punchora was antoher well-informed person in all respects. He was known to have observed the ceremonies of Hindu religion. Macpherson also met the patriarch of Raniganj named Madwa Khonro who engaged himself in teaching his child. Another example of an enlightened patriarch was Nawbhun Khonro of Baud. He was educated along with the sons of the zamindar of that estate. The intelligence, courage, and determination which he displayed in dealing with the chief of Baud bagged for him the respect of every Khond.[44]

The sole basis by which the patriarch of a tribe or of a branch, was anciently acknowledged upon his accession consisted of presenting first to him, the liquor cup after this being circulated at a public assembly. On the death of a village patriarch, all the patriarchs of the branch used to meet the inhabitants of the hamlet to recognize his successor. There were other unimportant forms which varied from district to district.[45]

For many centuries the Khond communities remained independent with their own institutions and corporate political existence.[46] There was no external influence, particularly from the Oriyas. In this connection, F.G. Bailey writes, "For many centuries there seems to have been a stalemate. The Khonds were not strong enough to exterminate the Oriya colonies. The dominant group among the Oriyas, in their turn, were not strong enough or sufficiently united to undertake a systematic conquest of the Khonds. The contradiction between their political systems remained potential rather than actual and

44. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, pp. 52-53.
45. Ibid, p. 31.
46. F.G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste, and Nation*, p. 180.

only came to the surface when the British arrived and gave to the Oriyas sufficient power to begin to impose their system upon the Konds".[47] And during that period the spirit of personal independence and attachment to persons rather than to institutions developed in the character of these people.[48] In the former trait was seen the wild and passionate love of individual liberty. But that was partially subdued by the civilizing influences.

Thus the Khonds remaining in mountains and jungles could maintain complete political independence of their own.

Yet Bannerman, the Magistrate of Ganjam in the early 1841 regarded the Khonds as lawless savages and saw no merit in their decentralised and thoroughly democratic principles.[49] He thus wrote to the Madras Government on 6th February, 1841 : "Unfortunately no Khond chiefs, possessing any power and influence with whom to negotiate are to be found throughout the entire range. Each Khond hamlet is separate and independent and the circumstances of there being no authority among them, which could be held responsible or be employed to influence or control the acts of the rest, adds much to the difficulty of the task".[50] But Bannerman lost sight of the fact that it was the British Government which systematically hanged every head of the clan in Ghumsar who had survived the two terrible campaigns in the Ghumsar wars. However, the socio-political system of the muthas was marked by some sort of confusion as it was disorganised by sudden feuds and clan wars.

Position of Rajas or zamindars

The Khond inhabited areas were located either under certain fief or principality or zamindary. The rulers or chiefs of these estates were called Rajas or Zamindars.

47. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 11, 1957-58, pp. 96-97, F.G. Bailley's 'Political change in the Kondhmals'.
48. Macpherson's Repbrt upon Khonds, p. 51.
49. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 11.
50. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December 1846, p. 74.

In certain regions the Khonds claimed even the right of enthroning the Chief on his Gadi and unless this was done, the Chief was not formally recognised by them. A ceremony was organised for the purpose. Lieutenant Elliot in his report of 1856 has given a graphic description of one such ceremony. "The ceremony observed on the installation of a new Raja is curious and appears worthy of mention. There is a place called Jugsaipatna, about 24 miles east of Junagarh, where, it is said, a large village formerly stood (probably at one time the principal town of the dependency) but now covered with jungle. Near this lives a Khond family, the eldest member of which is called the Patmanjhi; when the Raja dies, his funeral rites are performed and his corpse disposed of by the orders of his successor who does not take part in the ceremony: after the due completion of these offices, the zamindars and principal persons in the dependency assemble at Jugsaipatna for the purpose of installing the young Raja, which ceremony is conducted in the following manner. The Patmanjhi or Khond above mentioned having seated himself on a large rock at Jugsaipatna, dressed in rich clothes given him for the occasion, a rich cloth is thrown over his lap on which the young Raja sits while his turban is tied by the Baghe Patar or Diwan, all the Zamindars and principal persons present holding the turban cloth. The zamindars and others then present their nazars (gifts) in token of obedience to their ruler. The origin of the custom of celebrating the ceremony in the lap of a Khond is attributed to a covenant said to have been entered into between some former Raja and the Khonds of the country, but unfortunately the legend has been lost; it does not appear that this particular Khond exercises any authority over his tribe."[51]

Furthermore, here the Raja used to marry a Khond girl and make her one of his wives in a ceremony.[52] In this ceremony a girl was presented to the Chief who immediately returned her to the parents and to the tribe by the Khond

51. Quoted in Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 202.

52. R. V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. III, p. 465.

system of divorce, in which a fine was paid by the husband to the tribe for such an act.[53] These customs have lately been abandoned. However behind this custom lay the facts that the Rajas derived their rights from the Khonds.[54] Thus the Khonds used to believe that at one time they were the rulers of the country in which they alone resided and not the Rajas.

Shedding further light on the relationship of the Khonds with the local Rajas, John Campbell writes, "It is almost impossible to define with accuracy the relative position of Khond and Raja. It is far too vague and indeterminate to be clearly expressed. It is quite certain that the latter claims an obedience which the former never yields, whilst it is no less certain that the one had a very strong and as we should call it, loyal feeling towards the other. It must be allowed that generally, and with singular good judgment, the Rajas have interfered with their hill subjects as little as possible. There are certain perquisites, fines, and forfeits which are in reality due to the chief; but in truth, it always depends upon the temper of the Khonds at the time whether they pay anything or nothing. Whenever the Rajah deputes one of his officers or ministers to pay the Khonds a visit, such functionary is received with great honour, as a general rule, and presents of rice, vegetables etc. are bestowed upon him; but the people assert that all this is purely complimentary and could not be exacted as a matter of right."[55]

In this connection Campbell further observes that these Rajas and their officers were the greatest possible sticklers in all matters of court ceremony. If any one of them visited a village chief, he was met by the latter with all the followers he headed. He was also saluted with a low obeisance. Then the village chief presented the feudal tribute, washed his superior's feet, and escorted him with music to his house, by the side of which a spot had been made clean purified. Here were placed a lamp and a vessel full of water, to which

53. Feudatory States Gazetteers, pp. 202-203.
54. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, Op. Cit. III, p. 465.
55. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 253-254.

a small branch of the mango-tree was immersed. The wife of the village chief then brought some rice, and showing it to the illustrious visitor made a circle round his head with joined palms. After this being done, she threw the rice out; and sprinkled the water on the roof of the house. He was then escorted to a house set apart for him, where he resided. The expenses thus incurred used to be borne by the village community. Matchlocks were fired off, and all the Khond subjects of the Raja assembled to give him of flowery welcome. Should a beast of the chase be presented, he received and distributed it at his pleasure.[56]

All this was done with the notion that the Raja was supreme and the very fountain of all authorities in the State.[57] But in fact the wild and hilly areas including the Khond tracts of the estate remained beyond the personal contact of the Raja.[58] The Raja of Baud himself once confessed it before F. Gouldsbury, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals.[59] In reality several of the tribes of Orissa living in most inaccessible areas, including the Khonds, had never acknowledged the authority of the Rajas.[60] They remained free subjects, cultivating the soil on the usual rent tenure and extending military service to the Rajas as and when required.[61] The Rajas had virtually little or no control over the khonds.[62]

The Khonds of the hill villages used to pay a fixed sum

56. Ibid, pp. 19-20.
57 States' Report, p. 5 ;
OHRJ, Vol. VII, No. 2, p. 99, Richardson's Report of 1814; Ramdhyani's Report, Vol. I, pp. 6-7.
58. Jagannath Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 359.
59. Bd Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 157), F. Gouldsbury to Secretary to Government of Bengal, April 7, 1852.
60. Campbell's Narrative, p. 121.
61. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 37.
62. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 2210 KOR), Madras Oovernment, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St George, March 31, 1863 ;
The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition (New Delhi, ——), p. 376 ;
Angul Gazetteer, p. 27.

to the Rajas as tribute.[63] While in some quarters this was nominal, in some other cases it was heavy.[64] For example, the annual receipt of Chinna Kimedy Zamindar from the Highlands in 1873 was one hundred sixty eight rupees. There were fourteen muthas under his jurisdiction with rupees twelve fixed for each mutha.[65] Besides the payment of tribute, on some special occassions the villagers used to pay some more amount to the Raja or the zamindar. In Bissam Katak of Jeypore, for example, each village used to contribute a sheep, and each house-holder a rupee on the Dasahara direct to the Raja.[66] Under the British administration the custom of paying this tribute had almost ceased, although the Rajas continued to exercise a certain influence.[67]

Crime and Punishment

The sense of virtue and morality was not so seriously considered by the Khonds. Nearly all offences could be condoned by the payment of a penalty oe 'Poronja'.[68] Serious offences committed by persons such as homicide, and causing severe injuries were regarded as private wrongs, and compensation was to be paid for the same.[69]

In Kalahandi social delinquencies were punished by imposing a fine of supplying a number of field-mice. That was because the catching of twenty to forty field-mice entailed a great amount of trouble. Inspite of the troubles, when one completed the collection of the required number of mice, his friends and neighbours demanded to fry them and sat for a feast with plenty of liquor. But the person who had

63. Campbell's Narrative, p. 20.
64. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 13.
65. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 1702 G) Madras Government, Report of Special Agent, Russelconda, May, 28, 1873, No. 83.
66. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 2210 KOR), Madras Government, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
67. Campbell's Narrative p. 20.
68. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
69. E T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.

caught those mice was not allowed to participate in the feast as he was condemned as a culprit.[70]

According to the Code of the Khonds, there were nine cardinal sins, namely (1) to refuse hospitality, (2) to break an oath or even a promise, (3) to tell a lie except to save the life of a guest, (4) to break a pledge of friendship, (5) to break an old law or custom, (6) to commit incest, (7) to contract debts. (8) to shirk one's duty in time of war, and (9) to divulge a tribal secret.[71]

But the code on the subject of unfaithfulness of the wives was somewhat different. It varied from place to place. In one place, in case of adultery of the wife, the injured husband, if he wished, demanded of the adulterer to satisfy him. If he did so, the woman remained with him as his wife.[72] In another place no payment could wipe out the stain of adultery. The injured husband was bound to but the adulterer to death, if he was caught in action. Thereafter he sent back his wife to her father's house.[73] In murder cases all the properties of the murderer were made over to the family of the deceased. In the case of causing injury, a portion of the offender's goods was to be handed over to the injured and he was also bound to provide the injured person with all his wants till his recovery.[74]

Yet in general the custom of taking revenge by blood was resubstituted by the principles of monetary compensation.

Offence Relating to Property

In offences relating to property, the principle of restitution was generally followed. A stolen article was to be returned; if not, its equivalent was to be paid to the injured party. So mild a punishmant often encouraged people to commit thefts. But this leniency was extended only to a person committing the offence for the first time. A repitition of the crime by

70. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 472.
71. L S.S. O'Malley, *India's Social Heritage* (London, 1934), p. 95.
72. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
73. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 222.
74. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.

the same person was considered a wrong perpetrated upon the whole society. No compensation could expiate it, and the offender was to be expelled without mercy from his tribe. However, the offences against property among the Khonds were of two types. One was the theft of agricultural produce and the other was the wrongful occupation of the soil. Both the crimes involved the curtailment of one's civic right. In that case the village head took the decision of seizing the disputed land or appropriating its produce. It was this consideration which probably led the Khonds to regard the crime of theft as venial. The offender had to restore stolen agricultural produce forthwith; and in case the same could not be recovered, his land made over to the injured party till its produce became equal to the amount of the theft. The Khonds, however, did not leave the offender's family to starve. Every year one-half of the produce of the attached fields was set aside for the subsistence of the offenders family. The abundance of waste land encouraged the people for forcible occupation of the soil and rendered it a venial offence. It involved no further punishment. The properties were to be restored to the party which owned it.[75]

Origin of the Rights to Soil

The right to the soil of the Khonds arose from the priority of the occupation by the family or tribe, and within the tribe from the priority of cultivation by the individual. No complicated tenures existed, every man tilling his own field and acknowledging no landlord.

If the origin of the rights among the Khonds to the soil was simple, its transfer was easy. To start with, the seller made known his purpose to the patriarch of the sept or the tribal branch. He did so, not to obtain his sanction, but to give publicity to his intentions. He then led the buyer to the hamlet where the field lay, and calling together five husbandmen of the village, delivered a handful of the earth to the purchaser, and publicly received a part of the price. While doing so, he invoked the village God as a witness that

75. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 222.

he had parted with his land for ever. There the transaction ended.[76]

The right over the land was vested undeservedly in the holder, children having no power of a veto upon its sale. This was also the case in the plains.[77]

Law of Inheritance

The succession to the property always took place through males. However, a share from the personal property might be given to daughter. Thus the rule of primogeniture was not acknowledged.[78] Generally the sons got equal shares but the share of the eldest was sometimes larger than that of the others. The widow got a share equal to that of a son.[79] Of course some scholars including Macpherson have stated that no division of the property could take place during the life time of the father.[80] It was only after the father's death that his son could acquire property of and kind.[81] Yet some other scholars are of different opinions. The son of the family after his marriage used to quit the paternal roof and become a householder and he received a share of the land from the hands of the father.[82] Daughters did not come into the picture in inheriting properties. Of course they were entitled to maintenance out of the estate until they were married and their brother became jointly responsible for their care.[83] In the absence of any son, the land and homestead stock would

76. W W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 222-223.
77. JRASGBI Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 9, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
78. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.
79. H H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 402.
80 E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.
81. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 34, A Duff's Goomsur; the Late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribe': W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 204.
82. JRASGBI', Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 9 J.P. Frye's On the Uriya and Kondh population of Orissa'.
83. H H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403; E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.

go to the father's brothers.[84] And in case of no male heir, the land was to be passed to the village, and was parcelled out among the families residing there. However, the personal ornaments, household furniture, money and all moveable properties of their deceased father were to be divided equally among the daughters.[85]

Adoption

Adoption was often practised when a Khond thought that he would die without a heir. However if he had a daughter, he would get her married, invite his son-in-law to live with him, and leave his property to them. This practice was of course contrary to the Khonds' law of inheritance, which said that the property in default of male issue would revert to the brothers. Yet is was sometimes permitted.[86] Some other scholars opine that adoption was unknown in Khond society and a step-son had no right in the estate of his step-father.[87]

However, the grazing and forest lands and service tenures were always kept under the joint possession of all the villagers.[88]

Oath and ordeal for the adjudication of disputes

The disputes regarding property and offences of all kinds were adjudicated by a council of elders, who heard both the parties and examined witnesses.[89] The favourite mode of decision, however, was by judicial ordeal.[90]

These ordeals were of a binding nature as they were supposed to be based on divine consent. They had the belief that the powerful Bura Pennu would be quite impartial in awarding justice. However, before the act of ordeal, the accusers and elders settled the manner, time and place for the

84. Angul Gazetteer, p. 53.
85. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Acccount of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 224.
86. Angul Gazetteer, p. 53.
86. H.H, Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.
88. Angul Oazetteer, p. 53.
89. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.
90. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 223.

act. Then necessary preparations were made; there was ceremonial cleansing of the accused or his substitute; some offering was also made with prayer to Bura Pennu.[91]

The Khonds had numerous forms of oath and ordeal. One such oath is given by J.A.R. Stevenson thus, "The substance of the circumstance is first repeated by the swearing party, and a basket containing things namely a blood-sucker (lizard), a bit of tiger's skin, peacock's feather, earth from a white ants' hill and rice mixed with fowl's blood and a lighted lamp' being held before him, he proceeds with his oath, touching each object in the basket as that part of the oath which refers to that object—'Oh father (God !), I swear, and if I swear falsely, then, Oh father! may I become shrivelled and dry like a blood-sucker, and thus die; may I be killed by a tiger resembling this blood-sucker; may I crumble to dust like this white-ants' hill, may I be blown about like this feather; may I be extinguished like this lamp'. In saying the last words, he puts a few grains of rice in his mouth, and blows out the lamp, and the basket with its contents is made to touch the top of his head".[92] This is how the litigants and witnesses were examined by administering oath.

This ordeal test of the Khonds was founded on the belief that rice steeped in the blood of a sheep* sacrificed in the name of the Earth Goddess would, if eaten by litigants, destroy the perjured and that a portion of the disputed soil made into clay would have a similar effect if swallowed by them[93] It was believed that they would be attacked by some fatal illness within seven days.[94]

91. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, pp. 192-194.

92. MJLS, Vol. V, January-June 1837, p. 45, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners and Rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains, from documents furnisned by J.A.R. Stevenson and W G. Maxwell".

* In some places the rice was mixed with the blood of a pig sacrificed in the name of the Earth Goddess.

93. Bd. ProcJ, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 233 4 G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to the Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.

94. Angul Gazetteer, p. 64.

C.H. Mounsy, the Special Assistant Agent of Ganjam, in his report of the 10th October 1883 has given some valuable information regarding the oath or ordeal of the Khonds. He writes that the four kinds of oaths were made use of for judicial tests and an oath was administered to induce secrecy.

The first one, the most solemn form, was known as the oath on tiger's skin. It was taken as follows. A piece of land was smeared with cowdung and sprinkled with rice. On it were placed the tiger and Cheetah skins, some leaves of the Tulsi plant, some leaves of one of the Arum plants (Saru plant), some earth from a white ant heap and (if the oath was about a land dispute) some earth from the spot of dispute. The man who took the oath came forward, lifted the skin along with the other things placed there and invoking God used to say, "If I am not speaking the truth or if I do not point out this boundary truly (as the case might be) may I be destroyed by a tiger, may my limbs be withered like this tulsi plant within, may my throat blister to cause my death as if this Saru plant was applied to it and may white ants eat my body as they do to wood and if it is a land case may I be destroyed and my body mingled with this earth."[95]

The ordinary form of oath for petty land disputes was known as 'drinking or eating the earth'. In this form seven handfuls of soil taken from the contested land were mixed with water. And this mixture was drunk by the man who claimed the land. While drinking, the man invoked God and said that all his belongings would be destroyed and he would meet death in three days if he was perjuring himself.[96]

The third form of oath used in land disuptes, writes C.H. Mounsy, was more or less similar to that of the previous one. The oath-taker had to walk first along the boundary of the land that he claimed. He then advanced to the centre of the ground where the headmen had already assem-

95. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203 4 G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October, 10, 1883.

96. Ibid.

bled. At that place a mixture made from Sal leaves was kept in a cup. Seven leaves of the Choturam herb (wildaspara grass) being tied together were chopped over the cup in such a manner that the pieces would fall into it. Then a fowl's egg was broken in a sacrificial manner by the Khond priest. Thereafter the person claiming the land would drink the mixture. While drinking he invoked the God of Rain (the life causer) to let him live if he was speaking the truth or to make him die within seven days if he was perjuring. He was being watched for seven days and if nothing would happen to him, he would gain his ground.[97]

The fourth one was the recognized form of oath by which a man might clear himself of the charges of 'Pul to Bagho' and seduction. One became 'Pul to Bagho' when either a man or a woman acquired power of changing themselves into tigers. They did so as a means to destroy their enemies. The oath for the purpose was taken on salted earth near a white ant heap touching the leaves of the 'Olua' and a Tangi. The man taking the oath put the Tangi blade between his teeth and touching the other things prayed that if he was perjuring he might be dissolved like salt in water, eaten up by white ants so that no part of his body was left to be burnt, wither as the 'Olua' leaves, and be cut into little pieces by Tangies. Touching peacocks' feather the oath was taken sometimes with the belief that those were being used by the deities as their fans.[98]

The Khonds used to believe that a false oath taken by the side of potter's wheel would cause lunacy. If such an oath were taken in the field from which the standing crop had been stolen, it would cause the death of the thief. A simple libation of liquor was freqently made to the Earth Goddess for ratifying an oath or a promise. The oath was also administered in another form. A 'tambi' (the standard of measure) containig a piece of tiger's skin, some salt, paddy,

97. Ibid.

98. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203 4 G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.

rice, cat's fur, the leaves of the broom plant, and earth from an ant-hill, was placed before the witness, and holding each item he swore to tell the turth.[99]

The ordeals that Macpherson has mentioned were of three kinds, namely, boiling water. hot oil and heated iron. Besides these, there were ordeals of immersion in water, two sorts by fire and by a contravance with bamboo.

In case of the ordeal through boiling water, a new earthern pot containing water mixed with a handful of cowdung was placed over a fire until the water boiled fiercely [100] Then the suspected man was asked either to plunge his hand and wrist into it while it was still placed on fire. At times some articles were dropped to the bottom of the pot and he was asked to pick them up. While dipping his hand the Khond priest called on the Earth Goddess to show whether he was guilty or innocent. If innocent, his hand was not to be scalded. The hot oil ordeal was also carried out in the same process; only oil was kept in place of water.[101]

The hot iron ordeal was carried out in two ways. In the first process, a squarish lump of iron was heated inside the fire till it became red hot. A priest then sprinkled a handful of rice over it as many times as there were suspected persons in the list. Every time he uttered the name of one suspected person. If that person was guilty, the iron would smell. The second method of testifying innocence by making a similar piece of iron red hot. This was then placed on the palms of accused. If his palms were not burnt, he was declared innocent.[102]

Ordeal by immersion in water was yet another method of testing innocence. It was of two types. First, the com-

99. Angul Grzetteer, p. 64.
100. E Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 403.
101. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203-4 G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent Governor, October 10, 1883.
102. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203 4 G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.

plainant and the defendant used to advance together into the middle of a stream or pool. They were asked to sit down so that the water was completely over their heads. In this condition, the man who could keep his breath for the longer period, was adjudged to have spoken the truth.[103] In the second method a person went into the water. Then the Khond priest invoking the God of Rain would pour a cup of milk on his body. If the man was perjuring himself the milk would sink and run down his body.[104]

The next ordeal was still more arduous. In this case, one had to put his steps over burning logs of tamarind wood kept in an area of four yards of ground. The man to prove his innocence of the charges made against him was asked to walk over the fire without getting himself burnt. Before starting, he invoked God to scorch his feet if he was guilty and let him escape unburnt, if innocent. In some places like Ghumsar the man's feet were to be first dipped in oil before he started his walking.[105]

Barbara M. Boal gives the description of the ordeal in case of accusations of witchcraft, sorcery or adultery on the part of a woman. That was by walking over the fire trench in the following manner. When a husband accused his wife of consistent adultery, she was required to prove her innocence by an ordeal. Her husband asked her to "Walk the fiery trench", and the wife consented by saying, "All right, I will". She then informed her parents all about it. They used to direct her, "If you have not committed adultery, we will undertake this ordeal" Then she declared strongly, "I have not become adulterous!" Then the preparations for the purpose began to start. The head, the father or kinsman of the accused woman, convened the village council. Before them the accuser stated that the accused must undergo ordeal

103. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 409;
Angul Gazetteer, p. 64.

104. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsd 203 4 G), C.M. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.

105. Ibid.

by walking on the fire. In the ordeal, if fire did not burn the accused then the accuser would give them a buffalo, rice, metal pots and some money for his shameful action. Accordingly in that evening one or two men of the accused's lineage used to collect some rice and one egg. Next morning without looking at any woman's face during the night they went upon the hill (to the forest) and offered the rice and egg with invocations. There they cut down a large dried up branch of a Sal tree and carrying it on their shoulders joined their kinsmen. They put the wood down at a place where the trench was to be dug on the panga just outside the accuser's village boundary. One of the kinsmen provided a small and a large pickaxe and a new winnowing tray. Then the remaining kinsmen took bath and with their wet clothes on they dug the fire-trench. Then they lighted the fire. When the embers became red hot the people of both the sides gathered and listened carefully to the accuser's charge twice. One of the woman's (or sorcerer's) kinsmen who had bathed ritually used to stand near the trench. Holding some rice over the trench he invoked Bura Pennu* and scattered the rice. Anointing his feet with castor oil he put seven Pipal leaves under his feet fastening them with new thread. Then lifting his battle axe to his shoulder he used to give a Johari greeting to all those standing on four sides and stepped into the trench. He walked through the fire seven times, while another man kept on fanning it with the new winnowing tray. If he could not manage to walk seven times he would come out quickly. Then the people believed that the woman (or sorcerer) and committed the misdeed. If nothing would happen to him, the accused woman was declared innocent. Then she went to her father's house for a while. Afterwards her husband came and took her back to his home.[106]

* Invocation "O high Bura God!
We are undertaking this ordeal to justify our daughter.
If our daughter has sinned
May I be burned as I walk this trench
If there is no sin, may I not be burned".

106. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, pp. 14-15.

The ordeal by bamboos was another method. It was different from the others. It was of course sparingly used. Two bamboos, each of nearly six feet in length, were collected. Then these bamboos were placed horizontally along the person whose innocence or guilt was to be determined. His right and left arms were to be fastened with the bamboos. Then he had to pray to God to clear his character. If he was innocent the bamboos would be automatically detached from his body.[107]

There was still other methods applied for the solution of the boundary disputes. In this case the ownership of the land was to be proved or disproved with the help of a fowl belonging to one of the owners. This fowl was to be tied on the boundary line. If it was to remain quiet, eat and sleep there, the ownership of the land to the owner of the fowl was proved. On the other hand, if it fluttered and tried to get away from where it was tied up on the boundary line, the owner of the fowl would lose his cause. The other method was to decide ownership with the help of an arrow. First an arrow was to be fixed on the alleged boundary line. The Khond priest was to pour rice exactly on the top of the arrow. Ownership was decided in favour of the person on whose side the larger heap of rice was accumulated.[108]

In the matter of disputes adjudicated by the council of elders, 'the litigants paid no court fees whatsoever. But the party that lost would have to liberally entertain the members of the tribunal with rice, meat and liquor.[109]

Thus, before the British rule got a firm hold of the Khond territories by the middle of the nineteenth century, these areas had their old administrative structure prevalent among the aboriginal people.

107. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203 4 G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretrry to Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.
108. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203 4G), C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.
109. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol XIX, p. 224.

Generally, the law needs no enforcement in a primitive community. It is followed spontaneously.[110]. In this connection R.H.Lowites, "The unwritten laws of customary usage are obeyed far more willingly than our written codes, or rather they are obeyed spontaneously".[111] This could be distinctly found in the Khond communities. They did not possess anything like a code of written laws and statutes, passed by competent legislative authority.[112]

Thus the Khonds were law-abiding people accustomed to the tribal rules and fetters. They had their deep reverence for tradition and custom, an automatic submission to their biddings.

Khond Tracts under British Administration

Beginning with 1835, the Khond inhabited region was brought under effective control by the East India Company in the campaigns called Meriah Wars. Since then the administration was taken over by the Government which was hitherto performed by the indigenous institutions.[113]

The first contact of the English with the Khonds was established towards the end of 1835, when they discovered in them prevalence of the practice of human sacrifice called Meriah.[114] Since then a gradual development of the British administration took place in the Khond tracts.

After the Ghumsar war in 1835-36 this was considered necessary for the prevention of further disturbances in that area. The British authorities realised that the administration of Criminal and Civil justice in the hill Zamindaries of Ganjam should be removed from the ordinary Courts and placed under the Collector. And in pursuance of the Act

110. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (Reprint, London, 1970), p. 14.
111. R.H Lowie, *Primitive Society* (English Edition,—), p. 387.
112. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 44, A Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there. The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
113. F.G. Bailey, *Tribes, Caste, and Nation*, p. 3.
114. Madras Presidency Manual, Vol. II, p. 77.

XXIV passed in 1836 the Collector, as the Agent to the Governor, Fort Saint George, was given necessary powers.[115]

Similarly, before Jeypore was taken under direct administration of the British Government, the district of Vizagapatam was in the charge of a Collector, who was called Agent to the Governor in the area by the Act XXIV of 1839 with two Assistants. The two Assistants who had their headquarters at Parvatipur and Narasapatam, were, according to the official usage of that time, designated as the Principal and the Senior Assistant Collector respectively. They were also gazetted as Assistant Agents in the parts under their jurisdiction.[116]

Thus in the Madras Presidency, a different administrative system was introduced by the Act XXIV of 1889, whereby civil and criminal jurisdiction of the Ganjam, Vizagapatm and the Godavari hill tracts were vested in an Agent and his staff. Thereby the Khond tracts of Madras Presidency came under their jurisdiction.

But there was a different system in Baud, In 1804 the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack had certain jurisdictions over Tributary States or Tributary Mahals of Orissa including Baud State. But in 1814 he was superseded by a Superintendent appointed and directed to endeavour to establish such a control over the conduct of the Rajas, including the Raja of Baud, as would prevent the commission of crimes and outrages. In 1839 suggestions were made for the introduction for a regular system of management by enforcing the Bengal rules. But those were not approved. However, rules were drawn up making the Rajas of Tributary Mahals including the Raja of Baud responsible to the Superintendent in all cases of murder, homicide and heinous offences.[117] However, the Khondmals which professed a shadowy allegiance to the State of Baud came under the British influence in 1855 when the Chief of that State made over the administration

115. Ganjam Manual, p. 11.
116. R.C S. Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput*, p. 142;
JAS, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951, p. 37, B.S. Guha's, 'The Indian Aborigines and their administration'.
117. Feudatory States Gazetteers, pp. 25-26.

of Khondmals to the British as he felt himself powerless to suppress the practice of Meriah and bring under subjection, the refractory Khonds who had taken the side of the Ghumsar rebel Chakra Bissoi.[118] Thus in 1855 a regular civil administration was established in the Khondmals. As the resources of the administrators were slender they were forced to govern through existing institutions.[119]

Another Khond inhabited State was Kalahandi. It was under the jurisdiction of Nagpore.[120] Here the Khonds had reigned unmolested for years paying a more nominal rent to the Chief for their villages or for their jhuming areas (padas). They were an exceedingly independent race and had no hesitation in showing that they resented the appearance of any stranger in their midst, especially of one in authority.[121] Thus it is to be seen that the British authority had no control over the Kalahandi Khonds except for a brief period, i.e. during the period of Meriah suppression.

Meriah Agency

The year 1845 proved to be momentous for the Khonds. That year the Government of India created a special Agency under the Act XXI of 1845 for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices and female infanticide throughout the Khond tracts.[122] Thus the entire tract of the Khonds, situated either within Bengal or the Madras Presidencies, were removed from the Superintendence of the Commissioner of the Tributary Mahals in Cuttack, and the Collector of Ganjam, respectively, and placed under the jurisdiction of the Meriah Agent

118. Man in India, Vol. II, March-June, 1922, Nos. 1-2, p. 81, S.C. Roy's 'Ethnography in Old Official Records'; Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 26;
The Impesial Gazetteer of India, Vol. V, p. 376;
S.B. Thiady '*Phulbani-The Khond Land*, p. 23.
119. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 11, 1957-58, p. 97, F. G. Bailey's 'Political Change in the Kondmals'.
120. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 2, J.P; Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh population of Orissa'.
121. Feudatory States Gazetters, p 200
122. SRG (India), No. V, p 90.

appointed by Government of India.[123] That officer and his subordinates were to be guided by the same rules in all departments of the administration as the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mahals in Cuttack, and his subordinates would be required respectively to observe in the same limits as if they were the local functionaries, except where persons of the hill races, or persons identified with the hill races by residence and customs, were concerned. Special rules would be provided by the Governor General in Council for the guidance of the public officers. Similarly, the Khond tracts of Ganjam were removed from the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Collector of Ganjam and placed under the Meriah Agent. Yet there lay a difference. The Agent in Khond tracts and his subordinates would receive their instructions from the Government of India, through the Government of Bengal, in matters in which present functionaries would be guided by the directions and decisions of the latter. This was done because it would be convenient for the Agent to address to the Bengal Government, all letters on matters connected either with the Madras or with the Bengal territories. Copies of all the correspondences would be transmitted to the Madras Government. Furthermore, it was decided that the Agents to be placed in charge of districts, should at least consist of five or six well qualified Assistants, each having under him, two or three natives of intelligence and integrity, the whole acting strictly on one plain, laid down in the instructions which would be prepared for their guidance.[124]

However, this special Agency continued to work in the Khond tracts upto 1861.[125] It was abolished thereafter by the Resolution of December 18,1861 which said, "The duties hitherto performed by the Agent being transferred to the several authorities within whose jurisdiction respectively the several portions of the hill tracts are situated."[126]

123. Macpherson's Memorials, pp. 241-243.
124. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 91-92.
125. Man in India, Vol. 36, No. 1, January-March 1956, p. 48.
126. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 42.

Administration after 1861

The Maliahs of Ganjam were transferred to the Collector and Agent. In 1865, Ghumsar proper and Surada were removed from the jurisdiction of the Agent. So all Agency tracts below the Ghats were transferred to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts. In 1869 the petty chieftainship of Korada and Ronabha were restored to the Agent's jurisdiction, together with the Chokapad Mutha of the Ghumsar taluk. The Chinna Kimedy Maliahs were in 1872 taken away from the Management of the Chinna Kimedy Zamindar. The Goverement collections were meagre, a few rupees, paid by the Heads of muthas, that too during the visit of the Agent. The civil jurisdiction was vested in the Governor's Agent who exercised the powers of a Civil and Sessions Judge throughout the Maliah tracts of Ganjam. Questions of the disputed succession over landed Estates were decided by Government on the report of the Agent.[127]

In order to co-ordinate and make the administration of the primitive tribes more uniform, the Scheduled Districts Act was passed in 1874 by the Indian Legislature which specified tribal areas all over the country into 'Scheduled Tracts'.[128] Thereafter Ganjam Maliah tracts became scheduled districts under Act XIV of 1874 and thus excluded from the operation of the Local Fund Act.[129]

As mentioned earlier the Khondmals had passsed under the direct rule of the British. Those areas were administered by a Tahasildar, under the control of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals.[130] Dinabandhu Patnaik was appointed the first Tahsildar of the Khondmals.[131] At that time Samuells, who was in charge of the annexation of the Khondmals, issued a proclamation that the Khonds would not be taxed, and would not be asked for forced labour. The Government would

127. Ganjam Manual, pp. 11-12.
128. JAS, Vol. XVII, No.1, 1951, p. 38, B.S, Guha's 'The Indian Aborigines and their administration'.
129. Ganjam Manual, p. 12.
130. Angual Gazetteer, p. 32.
131. S. B. Thiady, op. cit., p. 23.

not interfere in any way with the established usages and principles of justice of the hill races, or change injuriously the hereditary authority and privileges of the Rajas, the Bissois, the Malliks, the Podies, the Khonds and other hill Chiefs. The intention of the British Government was then to preserve the existing political and social institutions.[132] However, in 1891, the Khondmals were formed into a subdivision of the Angul District.[133]

Jeypore Estate, another Khond inhabited region was taken under the direct administration of the British Government in 1863. The Thanas of Gunupur, Rayagada, Almanda and Narainpatnam, which had already been placed under attachment in the year 1859, were annexed, together with the feudal estates in the lower part of the estate. Of those Kalyana Singapur and Bissum Katak were important. Those were under the jurisdiction of the Principal Assistant at Parvatipur. Similarly a new Assistant to the Agent designated as the Special Assistant Agent, was placed in charge of the remainder of the Jeypore Estate together with the hill portions of the Madgole and Pachipenta estates.[134]

Police Administration

After the abolition of Meriah Agency, the presence of a strong body of police force was necessitated. So the Government passed an order dated 27th April 1863, in which the duties of the late Agency were entrusted to the Police.[135] In Ganjam Maliah, adequate Police personnel were stationed. Ganjam District was placed under an Assistant Superintendent of Police with head quarters at Rûsselkonda.[136] He was required to reside in the Maliahs for six to eight months in the year.[137] Similarly, in Baud, a Police force was maintained

132. F G. Bailey, Tribe, Caste and Nation, p. 181.
133 Angul Gazetteer, p. 32.
134. R. C. S. Bell, op, cit., p. 142.
135. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1469G), Government Order No. 650, April 27, 1863.
136. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 14.
137. Ganjam Manual, p. 74.

consisting of one Inspector, one Sub-Inspector, eight Head Constables, and forty-nine Constables as is known from the information of the Commissioner T.E. Ravenshaw supplied in 1872 to E.T. Dalton.[138] In Jeypore Estate, a Police force was first established in 1863 with S. Galbraith as Assistant Superintendent of Police with his head quarters at Jeypore. In 1865, Jeypore became a separate Police district, consisting of all the parts of the estate lying above the Ghats. The remaining portion, corresponding to the present Rayagada subdivision, continued to be a part of the Vizagapatam Police district. Though the head quarters of the Superintendent was moved to Koraput in 1870, his charge continued to be called the Jeypore district until the present Koraput district was formed in April 1936.[139]

Jail Administration

The British officials stationed in Ganjam realised the necessity of a jail to save hill-convicts from the invariable attacks of fever. So the Collector of Ganjam sought permission from the British Government to convert the Barracks of the late Ghumsar Sebundies at Russelkonda into a Subsidiary Jail for the Khonds.[140] Considering this request, the Governor-in-Council sanctioned, in 1863, one thousand six hundered sixty rupees for converting the old Sebundy Barracks of Russelkonda into a jail for the Khonds.[141] Thus a jail was built specially for the hill-convicts.

The Khonmals had a separate subjail at Phulbani with accommodation for fourteen prisoners.[142]

At Koraput, there was a Sub-jail to accomodate the prisoners both from the hill tracts and the plains. A new

138 E.T. Dalton, op. cit, p. 299-
139. R. C. S. Bell, op. cit.. p. 150.
140. Bd. Procd, Jud (OBSA LR Acsn 1459G), Madras Government, O.W. S. Chambers, R. E. Superintending, Enginers First Division, to W.I. Birdwood, R. E., Secretary to Government. D. P. W., July 23, 1863.
141. Ibid, Governmet Order, August 8, 1863, No. 1282.
142. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 14.

Sub-jail at Jeypore was constructed in 1888 for the hill convicts of Jeypore Zamindary.[143]

Administration of Justice

Measures for the administration of justice were required to be adopted in the later part of the nineteenth century. Although serious crime was reported to be rare among the Khonds, in some regions, particulary in the Jeypore Estate, violent crimes continued to be common for some time after 1863. That was because the estate was in a state of anarchy.[144]

With the advent of settled rule of the British Government, the dispensation of criminal justice by the Khonds according to their tribal principles had ceased to a great extent. Only petty assaults for trifling thefts were dealt with by the tribal headmen.[145]

In Ganjam Maliahs, there were three Sub-Magistrates in the hill tracts, such as at Balliguda, Udayagiri in Ghumsar and Udayagiri in the Pedda Kimedy Maliahs. Each Maliah Sub-Magistrate was invested with the powers of a Munsif for the trial of Civil disputes, but it was the express desire of the Government that these powers should not be exercised where the parties could be induced to refer the matter to the village council of their own people for the settlement of their disputes. Therefore, these powers were ordinarily exercised in regulating and controlling the action of the village councils.[146]

In Khondmals the Tahasildar had the powers of a Subordinate Judge and Assistant Magistrate.[147] Although in 1891, Khondmals were made a sub-division of Angul District, the Khondmals Magistrate continued virtually to be independent. In 1897, the Angul Regulations were made. The

143. Bd. Prcd , Jud (OSA LR Ascn 1840G), Madrass Government, H.D. Taylor, Acting Special Asst. Agent, Vizagapatam, to Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam,—April, 1888.

944. R. C. S. Bell, op. cit., p. 148;
Barbara M. Boal *The Konds*, p. 14.

145. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 65.

146. Ganjam Manual, pp. 12-13.

147. E. T. Dalton, op. cit, p. 299.

Magistrate in the Khondmals was allowed great discretion in applying regulations and he was permitted to make his own regulations without further formality concerning sanitation, public health and communications. Legal protection was given to the Khonds and an attempt was made to compensate them for their disabilites in a formal system of law.[148]

In Jeypore Estate, two Sub-Magistrates, each with administrative control over a taluk, were appointed to assist the Principal Assistants at Gunupur and Rayagada. For the judicial purposes, the district (Koraput) was a unit, the Collector and Magistrate exercising the function of District and Sessions Judge. Act. XXIV of 1836 empowered the Madras Government to prescribe such rules as they might deem proper for the guidance of the Agent and his subordinates in judicial and other matters.[149]

Thus it is to be found that in the nineteenth century the Khonds lived under two different sets of political institutions-one was their own and the other was the one called the Oriya system. Their own system of government was semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal. Each Khond tribe possessed a distinct portion of territory and was presided over by an Abbaya or patriarch, who, as the representative of its common ancestor, used to represent and maintain common interests. The patriarch was aided and controlled by a Council composed of the Heads of its branches in the management of the ordinary affairs. The Rajas or the Zamindars had little control over the Khonds. These aboriginals considered themselves as free subjects of the Zamindars. They had framed their own penal code befitting their socio-political structure. Trial by ordeal was practised to settle some questions of guilt or innocence concerning the traditional sins. But when the Khond tracts came under the efficient control of the British Government, a gradual change took place in the old administrative structure of the Khonds. Of course such change was not very fast. Bad

148. F. G Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, p. 181.
149. R. C. S. Bell, op. cit., pp. 142-148.

commuications, the evil reputation of climate, and the expense in money and men of garrisoning in the Khond hills-all created hurdles time and again for the Government in enforcing their own administration.

2

Economic Life

The economic life of the Khonds makes an interesting study. Housed in forest areas, surrounded by hills, their economic life was quite different from that of the people of the plains. This was best illustrated in their agriculture, trade and communication system, taxation, economic exploitation, poverty and the like.

AGRICULTURE

Ownership of Land

Agriculture was the chief occupation of Khonds.[1] They considered themselves the original owners of the soil.[2] In this connection H.H. Risley writes, "They (Khonds) claim full rights of property in the soil in virtue of having cleared the jungle and prepared the land for cultivation. In some villages individual ownership is unknown, and the land is cultivated on a system of temporary occupation subject to periodical redistribution under the orders of the headman or malik".[3] It is known further from the report of T.E. Ravenshaw that a Khond replied that 'he was a zamindar' or owner of the soil, when a question was asked as to who he was.[4]

1. Athelstane Baines, *Ethonography*, p. 121.
2. Campbell's Narrative p. 253;
   Imperial Gazetteers of India, Provincial Series, Bengal; Vol. II, p. 287.
3. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengol*, Vol. I. p. 409.
4. E. T. Daltion, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, p. 294;
   Fedudatory States Gazetteers, p. 89.

In 1842, when the Khonds came under the British protection, each tribe or a group of families enjoyed the right to occupy as much land as they cultivate within the tribal limits. Priority of occupation formed the origin of the rights.[5] But such a system resulted in a vast surplus of land. That was largely because in the beginning, for the mere purpose of bringing as much territory as they could under their control, they brought certain lands under their nominal cultivation, and later on they lift it fallow.[6] Due to poverty, they were also unable to bring more and more cultivable lands under cultivation.[7] Furthermore, when the Khonds held their lands on the community system, it led to many disputes, which the village councils settled as a rule.[8]

Soil

Generally the soil was not suitable for cultivation, stones and gravel being scattered over the surface. But the alluvial deposits of the valleys were very rich. So the entire valley bed was converted into cultivable fields. For clearing the higher ground, timber was destroyed by making an incision encircling the trunk, a foot or so from the root. Fire was also applied to clear the surface of grasses and brushwood. The soil was made cultivable with a shallow plough. In the earth, lying in between stones and clods small grains and hardly leguminous plants were grown.[9]

Seasons of Agriculture

The Khonds used to divide the year into three seasons namely, 'Penni', the cold: 'Harra', the hot; and 'Piju dua', the rainy season. Their season of agriculture was as follows 'Irpi Vela' was the time when the flowers of the Mahua tree started to fall, corresponding to February and March of the

5. Jagannath Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, Vol. II. p. 513.
6. SRG (India) No. V, p. 42, Macpherson's Report, April 24, 1842.
7. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 130.
8. Angul Gazetteer, p. 41.
9. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 4, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa.'

year, when ploughing started; 'Maha Vela', was the period of ripe mangoes corresponding to May and June, when the rice crop was sown: and 'Bikka Vela' was the season of harvest, or the months of October and November. The rain usually commenced towards the end of May even earlier at times. From the commencement of the rains till the harvest, the Khonds employed themselves in agriculture.[10]

Irrigation

For their cultivation, the Khonds had to depend on rains. So they generally settled near running streams.[11] These perennial springs provided water to the cultivable lands of the Khonds.[12] There was no proper irrigation system of project in the Khond tracts. No attempt was made either to effect irrigation from tanks or wells, or even to collect flood water by the construction of ridges round their high-level fields.[13] Of course a few officials engaged in Meriah suppression, had explained to the Khonds the utility of irrigation. Mention may be made of A.C. McNeill, an engineer of no mean skill, who showed the Khonds new and improved methods of irrigating their lands.[14]

Method of Cultivation

The method of agriculture of the Khonds was primitive and desultory.[15] Of the science of agriculture the knew absolutely nothing.[16] Their method of cultivation was quite wasteful.[17] 'Slash-and-burn' cultivation was the chief method

10. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 10, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa.'
11. Campbell's Narrative, p. 14.
12. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 15.
13. Angul Gazetteer, p. 65.
14. Canpbell's Narrative, p 265.
15. Andrew H. L. Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Rsots*, p. 137; Athelstane Baines, op. cit., p. 121.
16. Campbell' Narrative, p. 38.
17. General Review of the Administration of the Feudatory States of Orissa and Chota Nagpur for the year 1922-23, p. 35.

practised by the Khonds to grow crops.[18] It was called 'Dahi' or 'Jhum' cultivation.[19] It had its sanction in their mythology and was hallowed in their tradition. Their chief religious ceremonies, the Meriah sacrifice and the harvest festivals, were inexorably linked with the fertility of their soil. The annual cycle of their activities, and their total economy centred round these ceremonies.[20]

The Khonds were in the habit of clearing patches of land in the forest during the cold weather, and burning it in the hot season.[21] They sowed grains in the ashes thus available and they used to do it after the commencement of the rains.[22] After raising one or two crops the Khonds allowed it to remain fallow for two to three years.[23] In the meantime the trees grew sufficiently to admit of a second felling.[24] Then the same process continued until the land showed signs or exhausation.[25] The Khonds finally abandoned this land. There remained only a bare hill side unfit for any cultivation except producing thorns, coarse grass and creepers.[26] Thus when the land became barren, the Khonds cleared a fresh jungle for future crops.[27]

The waste land caused immense damage to the forest as well as to the land since a large area of the Khond tracts used to be denuded of valuable forest growth. The rainfall

18. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, Vol. V. p. 377.
19. Feudatory States Gazetteers, pp. 74, 204.
20. Neville, A. Watts *The Half-Clad Tribals of Eastern India*, p. 61.
21. H H Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 397.
22. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, Vol. V, p. 377.
23. Angul Gazetteer, p. 64.
24. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. . LXXXI, p. 64, D. F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor' Vizagapatam, to A. J. Arbuthnot Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
25. W W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol XIX, p. 223.
26. Richard Temple's Report, p 20.
    Ramdyani's Report, Vol I, p. 39.
27 Campbell's Na rative, p. 38;
    Mar and Life, Vol, 9, Nos. 2-3, July-December 1983, p. 157.
    K. Mohan Rao's 'Socio-Cultural factors in Development of Tribal Areas.'

was adversely affected thereby.[28] However when the population increased this practice was modified. The slopesw ere more regularly tilled or the waste lands were parcelled out for pasturage among the various hamlets and exhibited the first model of the Hindu village of the plains.[29] So it created problems to the Government. Hence efforts were made by the Government to persuade the Khonds to restrict their Jhuming operations.[30] The Government succeeded to some extent.

During the seed-time and harvest a Khondman used to rise at daybreak, and eat a hearty meal of a sort of pulse porridge, boiled up with herbs and goat's or swine's flesh. Before the dew had risen from the land, he drove his oxen to the field, and toiled without a pause till three in the afternoon. If engaged in severer sorts of work, such as clearing jungles, he used to take rest at mid-day and eat his dinner. But when ploughing the field, he worked till the afternoon. Then he took a bath in nearest stream, and returned home in the evening when he took a hearty mess of thick rice soup, followed by the drinking of liquor.[31]

Agricultural Implements

The Khonds' implements of husbandry as described by Campbell were very primitive.[32] Those were—a rude plough, a harrow with a double row of wooden teeth, a small narrow felling axe, a sickle, and a wood-knife. To the bare axe, timber was fashioned to make use of it for different purposes.[33]

28. Jagannath Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 515-516.
29. W. W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 223: *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, Vol. V, p. 377.
30. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 209.
31. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 230.
32. Campbell's Narrative, p. 51.
33. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 15, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.

Agricultural Produce

Rice was the staple food of the Khonds. Hence they took great pains for its cultivation. The fields were formed in a succession of terraces, to which water was conducted.[34] Generally rice was grown wherever a jungle stream was available.[35] The cultivation of three kinds of rice was adopted by the Khonds.[36] It was extensively cultivated by them in Ghumsar Maliahs. Elsewhere it was chiefly in the hands of the non-tribals.[37] The Khonds of Kalahandi State grew wheat extensively in the hill areas.[38] Besides rice and wheat the Khonds used to cultivate millets and different kinds of maize, dal, pulses and oilseeds.[39] Kulthi was extensively grown by the Khonds of Nayagarh and it constituted one of their principal food stuffs.[40]

Turmeric was perhaps the most valuable crop which the Khonds raised. Of course its cultivation was a very laborious process. It used to take two full years to be matured for the yield. Hence constant field work was required.[41] It was also necessary to cover the field in the hot weather with a thick covering of leaves to prevent the plants from being dried up by the scorching sun.[42] Turmeric was extensively grown by the Khonds in all other places except Kalahandi.[43] There produced on a smaller scale.

34. Campbell's Narrative, p. 49.
35. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 64. D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
36. Ganjam Manual, p. 73,
37. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 359.
38. Feuatory States Gazetteers, p. 74.
39. Campbell's Narrative, p. 244;
JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, pp. 9-10, J. P. Frye's On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa':
The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, Vol. V. p. 378.
40. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 265.
41. C F. Mac Cartie, Madras Census Report, 1881.
42. Ganjam Manual, p. 73.
43. SRG (Madras), Russell's Reprt, p. 13, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837;
The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, Vol. V. p. 378;
Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 200.

Another agricultural produce of the Khonds was tobacco, a rough, coarse, strong leaf, indispensable to gratify their appetite.[44] It was generally grown in back-yards and a good deal of care was taken for its cultivation, as it was regarded by the Khonds as one of the most necessary for their existence.[45]

The cotton shrub was found abundantly in many places of the Khond tracts, particularly in the western part of the State of Nayagarh bordering Ganjam.[46] Similarly the silk-cotton tree was abundant and productive.[46] But the value of cotton and silk cotton was initially unknown to the Khonds.[48]

In the villages, by fencing in the land with wattled bamboos, the Khonds grew vegetables or garden produce like tobacco, sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins, brinjals and chillies.[49]

Outside the villages, the mango jack trees used to supply fruits to the Khonds. Orange and lime were said to be indigenous to the western borders of the Eastern Ghats. A variety of palms called in the Khond language 'Sarta' was carefully reared by the Khonds.[50] From it they used to prepare an intoxicating beverage.

'Ippa' or Mahua (Bassia latifolia) was a tree of great economic importance for the Khonds. It furnished an unfailing supply of fruit, oil and liquors.[51]

It is curious to note that the Khonds never grew sugar-

44. Campbell's Narrative, p. 50.
45. C.F. MacCartie, *Madras Census Report*, 1881.
46. Feudatory States Gazetteer, p. 265.
47. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 11, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of' Orissa; E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 362.
48. Compbeil's Narrative, p. 15.
49. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 64, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A. J. Arbuthnot, Chief, Secretary to Government, Forl St. George, March 31, 1863; Angul Gazetteer, p 65.
50. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, pp. 10-11, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
51. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 8.

cane. This was because of the belief that a man who grew turmeric would never make a successful cane-grower, and that one or the other of two crops would prove a failure, if practised by the same person.[52]

Trade and Commerce

The Khonds did not attach any importance to trade and commerce. That was because they detested trade and considered it a degrading occupation.[53] Hence the bulk of the trade remained mostly in the hands of the Oriyas of the plains and up country.[54] But towards the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Khonds entered more and more into commerce with the plains due to greater social intercourse with the Hindu Oriyas.[55]

The chief export of the Khonds was turmeric.[56] The people from the plains were the middlemen who used to buy the turmeric from the Khonds and deliver it to the greater wholesalers.[57] Tobacco was exported to the Nagpore territory.[58] In some places, a considerable traffic in rice and other grains was carried on with the plains.[59] Oilseeds, yams and ginger were also exported from the Khond hills.[60] Further-

52. Angul Gazetteer, p. 65.
53. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol I, p. 409; R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 470.
54. Eastern Antroplogist, Vol. 11, 1957-58, p. 101, F.G Bailley's 'Political Change in the Kondmals'.
55. Campbell's Narrative, p. 314.
56. *The Imperial Gaztteer of India*, New Edition, Vol V, 379; Feudatory States Gazrteers, pp. 74, 138.
57. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 11, 1957-58 p. 101, F.G. Bailey's 'Political change in the Kondmals'.
58. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 2210 KCR), Madras Government, D.F. Carmichael, Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J, Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
59. Campbell's Narrative, p. 203.
60. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 11, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.

more, jungle products like Bee's wax, honey, shellac, tassar silk, mahua and myrabolams (Gall nuts) were sold by the hill Khonds to the merchants of the plains.[61] Hides and horns were also sold by the Khonds to the plains. Furthermore, other jungle articles like bamboo, teak timber, fire-wood, grass for building purposes were exported by the Khonds to the plains.[62]

The chief items of imports of the Khonds were cattle for the plough, metal cooking utensils, ornaments, coarse cotton beads, iron bars, salt and fish.[63] They used to import all those items mainly from their lowland neighbours.[64] No dues were however levied on the transportation of these goods.[65]

There were a number of markets in different places of the Khond tracts and in low country, a list of which is appended below.* Those were more or less fairs, which used to sit once

61. Madras Presidency Manual, Vol. II, p. 77; C.F. MacCartie, Madras Census Report, 1811; *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, New Edition, Vol. V. p. 379.
62. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 812 KOR), Madras Government, Statement of Forest Produce brought down from Jeypore Forest and Checked at Forest Revenue Station, February 25, 1893; Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 804 KOR), Madras Government, Proposed seigniorage list for collection of tax from removing minor produce from Jeypore Estate forests.
63. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p, 11, J. P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
64. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December, 1846, p. 48, Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.
65. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 11, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.

*The following were the villages where the markets were held, and the probable number of Khonds and other inhabitants of the hills who attended each market :

Pondakhol about 500
Surada about 200
Kulada about 300
Bellagunta about 150

Kondunda Russel Konda Nowgam	Here there were no fixed market-days, but there was an almost constant attendance at these places.

or twice a week. The headman of each village usually acted as chief merchant, buying and bartering whenever he found profitable. If no itinerant merchant passed through the villages to purchase their produce, then the Khonds themselves carried it in baskets to neighbouring markets or fairs in the low country. The baskets were carried on their shoulders, slung at each end of a pole. In this way ramatile, mustard, caster oil seeds, ginger, turmeric, sweet potatoes, yams, plantains, citrons, gourds, pumpkins, beans, tobacco were carried and sold.[66] Russelkonda was one of the chief marts for the disposal of the produce of the hills. Such produces were mainly wheat, turmeric, wax, hide and horns, which the Khonds exchanged with salt-fish, iron, brass vessels and beads.[67]

The Khonds also used to sell or exchange hill products in the fairs of the low countries. Of course they did not come to such fairs from the commencement of ploughing to the harvest.[68] However these fairs helped the Khonds to develop friendly and familiar contact with other men of the plains. Side by side the circle of their wants increased.[69] The fairs were also held during religious festivals at the places of worship. Mention may be made of the fair held at Balaskumpa of Khondmal at the foot of the shrine Barraul * In the bright fortnight of Aswin, a ceremony used to be held in honour of the Goddess. It was estimated that 2000 to 3000 Khonds from the surrounding areas used to attend this fair.[70] But it was peculiar that the sacrificing Khonds of Chinna Kimedy were not in the habit of visiting the plains to attend fairs, unlike the Khonds of Ghumsar and Baud. Yet they disposed of their turmeric, the sole article of barter, for salt, cloth or

66. Meriah Reports, p. 7, J. Campbell, Principal Assistant Agent to Governor in Ganjam, January, 1842.
67. Ganjam Manual, p. 44.
68. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 10, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
69. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 93.
* Bararaul has been indentified with Goddess Durga of the Oriyas of the plains.
70. Angul Gazetteer. p. 131.

brass vessels through the traders from the plains.[71] The Brinjaries used to come to the villages of the highland Khond tracts for purchasing the hill produce.[72] Having known the utility of these fairs and markets the British officials engaged in Meriah suppression took steps to open more and more fairs and markets.[73] And true to their expectation, these fairs improved the economic status of the Khonds.[74]

Except Ghumsar, the Khonds were not found to have been affluent in other regions and they hardly possessed any surplus agricultural stock to sell in the market for pront.[75] The value of the produce carried to the marts by an individual was exceedingly small. They used to carry their produce in enclosed baskets, made of leaves sewn together, one or two of which formed a burthen. The average value of one such load of turmeric was about 12 annas (75 pice) during the British rule and, of other commodities, one rupee. The total exports of one individual usually amounted to four or five rupees.[76]

The average price of turmeric was 20, ginger 12 vis, mustard and sesame oil-seeds 10 and 12 ghunies per rupee; but it used to fluctuate. Bullocks were purchased for 2 to 4, and buffaloes for 3 to 4 rupees a pair. Of course they were all old and worn-out. Cotton cloth was procured at 8 annas per piece, and beads with 30 to 40 strings per rupee.[77]

However business among the Khonds was transacted

71. Campbell's Narrative, p. 121.
72. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 2210 KOR), Madras Government, D F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
73. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December 1846, p 48, Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.
74. N.R. Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 193.
75. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 359.
76. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 11, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
77. Ibid, pp. 11-12.

chiefly by barter, apparently to the great advantage of the enterprising lowland purveyors. That was because the Khonds did not want ready-money transactions.[78] Three vis of turmeric were exchanged for two vis of salt and salt fish. Similarly yokes of ploughing cattle were exchanged in the Khond, villages for rice, the rates of which were nearly uniform throughout the hill tracts. It was 120 seers average per rupee. The usual exchange for a yoke of cattle was 600 seeds or paddy equivalent to five ruppes.[79] The Khonds used to barter the grains with the Panas for clothes which the latter used to weave.[80]

Thus it is to be seen that the Khonds preferred the barter system. Even when they required money they did not give up this system due to ignorance of its relative value. In the more remote parts it was refused straight away. If a copper coin was made available it was regarded as an ornament. They used to suspend it around the necks of their children.[81] As late as in 1840, a true Khond husbandman knew nothing about money. Even the primitive shall currency had not reached his village.[82] Of course when the Agency officials became active in suppressing Mariah in Khond tracts, they gave more importance to trade. Circulation of money thus got a fillip.

Communication System

The hill and jungle tracts inhabited by the Khonds were

78. Bd. Procd. Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1845G), Madras Government, R. Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam to D F Carmichael. Officiating Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, June 7, 1875, No. 122;
Bd Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 2210 KOR), Madras Government. D.F Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31. 1863.
79. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 12, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
80. Ganjam Manual, p. 60.
81. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 14, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
82. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 230.

almost inaccessible before it came directly under the British administration. Even as late as in 1836 there was no easy approach to these areas.[83] Of roads there were none. They used to open up, forests for the passages of baggage cattle by cutting down trees.[84] Generally, the Khonds were accustomed to travel in the vast network of narrow foot-paths. They travelled usually in small groups walking in single file along the banks of paddy-fields or through the jungle. The paths were very narrow, there was danger of being attacked by wild animals and the loads that they carried were heavy.[85]

In Ghumsar, Baud, Daspalla and Chinna Kimedy areas, the problem of communication was given due importance only when the British officials entered this part, to suppress human sacrifice and infanticide. One of the measures to suppress these rites as suggested by Lord Elphinstone in his Minute was the opening of routes and passes through the wild tracts, more particularly between Aska and Goongudda. This road would open a direct communication between Nagpore and Ganjam, passing through the heart of the Khond country.[86] Macpherson, the illustrious Meriah Agent also gave importance to the opening of roads through the regions of the Ghats for the promotion of intercourse between the Khonds and the surrounding Hindu population.[87] Similarly another top-ranking British official, John Campbell, recommended 'the construction of a road through the heart of the Khond country as the first great step towards the civilization of the inhabitants'.[88] In this connection, A.J.M. Mills, the Commissioner of the Tributary Mahals of Orissa wrote, "I consider the opening of roads through the uncivilized and jungly countries as the greatest auxiliary of civilization, and a most efficient instrument in putting down rebellion."[89] Similarly, there

83. Campbell's Narrative, p. 37.
84. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 3, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
85. Barbara M. Boal, *The Kondhs* p. 10.
86. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 31-32.
87. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 92.
88. Campbells's Narrative, p. 77.
89. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Aesn 134), Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847.

were no roads for the Khond inhabited areas of Vizagapatam District. In this connection D.F. Carmichael wrote that the great want of the district was roads. But from 1825 to 1850 nothing was done in this regard. In 1849, the Collector of the Vizagapatam District, explaining the absence of any internal communication whatsoever, wrote, "There is not a mile of road in the district along which you can drive a gig or a pig".[90] Even roads were non-existent in the Jeypore Estate as late as in 1863 when the Madras Government first took over its direct administration.[91]

However the British Government realised the importance of communication and started to open a few roads in the Khond tracts, partly to encourage the commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains and partly for their own convenience to enter these inaccessible areas.[92]

In 1842, Macpherson suggested to the Government to build a road from Sonepur to Sambalpur through Khond tracts of Ghumsar and Kurmingbia Ghat to the Ganjam coast. John Cambell estimated the cost of such a road as 5000 rupees.[93] In support of this proposal, Elphinstone in his Minute recorded that a road between Sambalpur and Nowgaum needed to be constructed without delay.[94] Thus steps were taken to improve the communication system in Khond tracts only when these regions came directly in contact with the Government.

One road from Russelkonda to Keonjhar was constructed under the executive charge of Lieutenant Thurburn, assisted by European Overseers.[95] Similarly the construction of a road from Keonjhar to Sonepur was started, along the

90. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 4.
91. R.C.S Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput*, p. 125.
92. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 2, Lieut, Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.
93. SRG (India), No. V, p. 59, Macpherson's Report, August 19, 1842.
94. Ibid, p, 60, Elphinstone's Minute, September 24, 1842,
95. SRG (Madras), No. VIII, Reports on District Road for 1853 (Madras, 1855), p. i. J.H. Bell, Secretary to Board of Revenue, Department of Public Works, to H.C. Montgomery, Chief Secretary to Government, July 13, 1854 No. 551.

heart of the Khond country, to connect these two places coming under the jurisdiction of two Presidencies, the former in Madras, the latter in Bengal Presidency.[96] Being thus encouraged, the Khonds themselves also become keen for the construction of roads. W Robinson, the Inspector General of Police, in his report of 1865 wrote, "The Khonds did the work themselves, and worked with a will and with great energy. The headmen of each Moota undertook the section of road which passed through their respective Moottas or Districts, on contract; and the Khonds of their respective clans turned out in large bodies and carried out the work rapidly and well, under Captain Stuart's direction. Several thousands were employed all over the country, on this, to them, novel work. They were paid, and it must be obvious, nothing could be more advantageous to the country and to its population (of low civilization) than thus being brought into personal contact with the officer of Government, in carrying out operations for opening up and improving their. hitherto in a great measure, unknown country" [97] In 1875, all the Khonds of Khondmals agreed to subscribe annas four per year per house for purpose of raising a fund to construct roads for the better communicaction.[98]

In case of Jeypore, road were non-existent when the Madras Government first took over direct administration of this estate in 1863. Up to this time carts were entirely unknown in the hill country above the Ghats. Merchandise was carried by caravans of pack-bullocks which travelled along a particular route.[99] In 1863, D.F.Carmichael in his report stated the necessity of roads. He thus wrote, "It might be time now to try what can be done to civilise them (Khonds)

96. SRG (India), No. V, p. 120, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.
97. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1344G), Madras Government, W. Robinson, Inspector General of Police, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St George. July 17, 1865, No. 1416.
98. S. Thiady, *Phulbani—the Khondland*, pp. 59-60.
99. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit , p. 125.

by opening roads".[100] However the construction of the first road of Jeypore Estate was started in the 1863 and it was the Jeypore-Anantagiri road.[101] Thereafter the necessary steps to open good roads in the interior of the Jeypore Estate were taken and an annual grant of two thousand rupees was sanctioned for the purpose.[102] By 1874 carts, which a few years before had never been seen in any part of Jeypore Estate, could be seen moving from Salur to Jeypore.[103]

Thus within some years after the Khonds tracts' coming under the British administration, there was a spectacular improvement in the communication system. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, sufficient roads were built throughout the Khond country. And the opening of roads changed these Khond highland, from a dangerously inaccessible tract, into an open and well traversed country.

Taxation System

The Khonds regarded themselves as proprietors of the lands.[104] They used to pay no rent or taxes.[105] Thus no revenue whatsoever could be obtained from the Khonds. On behalf of the British Government, a native assistant called Tahasildar (Tax Collector) was posted. But he had no work to do in this matter. He resided in the Mals enjoying the powers of a Subordinate Judge and Assistant Magistrate.[106]

G.E. Russell, while engaged in suppressing the Ghumsar rebellion had suggested the abolition of all the duties within the zamindaries of Ghumsar and Surada. If not, it should be

100. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 62, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
101. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 125.
102. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 83, Government Order, May 4, 1863, No. 683.
103. R.C.S. Bell. op. cit., p. 126.
104. E.T Dalton, op. cit., p. 294.
H H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 397.
105. Campbell's Narrative, p. 254.
106. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 299.

suspended for some time.[107] His proposal was accepted by the Government. In 1859, the Deputy Magistrate of Baud adopted some measures for the levy of a tribute from the Khond Maliahs.[108] The Lieutenant Governor, considering these measures, opined that Russell and Macpherson had promised the Khonds earlier that they would not have to pay revenue or any tax in excess of what they had been paying from time immemorial. So he opposed the scheme of direct taxation of the Khonds which might strain the relations of the British Government with the wild people.[109] So the attempt for direct taxation on the Khonds could not materialise.

However, when the issue of collecting tax was raised subsequently, it was decided to impose a very small tax. In Ghumsar and Surada Maliahs, the only collection made from the people was a small sum per cultivated acre of lands made in the Chokapad mutha.[110] The payment of the Khond villages of Vizagapatam District of Madras Presidency to Government was very nominal.[111] Khonds of Kalahandi also used to pay a nominal fee for the pada or Jhuming area.[112]

Thus when the Khond lands were not subject to the ordinary land tax, in 1875 the Khonds of Khondmals were persuaded to pay what was called a 'Voluntary' tax at a low rate to be assessed on the ownership of ploughs.[113] This tax was of three annas per plough.[114] The Government used to

107. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, No. IX, July-December 1846, p. 48, Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.
108. Bd. Procd, Pol (OSA LR Acsn 1385G), Bengal Government, Chapman's Report, July 14, 1859, No. 1852.
109. Bd. Procd, Pol (OSA LR Acsn 1385G), Bengal Government, H.U. Browne, Under Secretary to Government of Bengal to Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, September 22, 1859; J.D. Gordon, Officiating Under Secretary to Government of St. George, October 7, 1859.
110. Ganjam Manual, p. 11.
111. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 9.
112. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 89.
113. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. II, 1957-58, p. 102. F.G. Bailey's 'Political change in the Kondmals'
114. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 12.

double the sum thus raised each year and this money was used for building schools and roads in the Khondmals.[115] This tax was never called 'rent' and was not considered as revenue assessment in official records.[116]

Though the British Government collected little revenue from the Khonds, the mutha-heads like Patros and Bissois extorted much from them.[117] The Khonds of Koraput used to pay a certain mamul, a sum of money, to their respective Patros who were invariably renters under the Zamindars.[118] In Khondmals, besides the regular collection, another subscription of a pice or two and some rice from every separate family was callected for the mutha-Chief at the time of collecting plough contribution. He also received other perquisites on certain occasions such as widow marriage and death of a man without heirs.[119] In later times, the Khonds were induced by the mutha-heads to pay more to them[120] When the Government learnt of this, it sent instructions that the mutha-heads could not be permitted to collect their dues arbitrarily by force and could do so only through the local Agent of the Government.[121]

Under new excise regulations, the Government did not permit private brewing as practised by the tribes.[122] The Sundis or distillers were the Hindu Oriyas who had been exploiting the Khonds in this regard. T.J. Maltby, the British Agent in Ganjam, while touring the areas under his jurisdiction, came

115. F. G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste, and Nation*, p. 183.
116. S. Thiady, op. cit, p. 60.
117. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 12.
118. Bq. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 2210 KOR), Madras Government, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Goveror, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
119. Angul Gazetteer, p. 52; S Thiady, op. cit., p. 61.
120. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 89.
121. Bq, Proced, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1861G), Madras Government, E. Iden, Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to J.G. Horsfall, Agent to Governor in Ganjam,——, 1885.
122. JAS, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951, p. 38, B.S. Guha's 'The Indian aborigines and their administration'.

to know about this exploitation So he recommended that the Abkari (excise) should be introduced to stop this exploitation, mostly to obtain liquor from the Sundis by getting into debt. His recommendation was approved by the Government. The circular of the Government order was sent to each mutha-head to prohibit every Oriya Sundi under him from distilling or selling liquor.[123] The Board of Revenue in its circular of 1878 permitted the Khonds to distil liquor for their own use and in their own house. Sundis, Panas, Gonds and all other classes were strictly prohibited from distilling either for sale, private consumption, or at the request of the Khonds.[124] All the Depot Gumastas were warned not to interfere with the Khonds distilling or carrying about their own liquor. The instructions were also sent to the Police Inspectors to direct the Police generally not to interfere with this privilege granted to the Khonds. In the meantime, Mr. Minchin, the Abkari Contractor, was permitted by the Government to start his depots and shops of liquor.[125] The 'spirit' farm thus being made over to an European farm at Aska created some discontentment among Ghumsar Khonds.[126] But there occurred no serious disturbance on this account. Subsequently the Khonds realised the benefit accrued from this Abkari system.[127] It has been recorded in the Government report that when the Khonds were asked about this excise regulation, everywhere

123. B Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1845G), Madras Government, T. J. Maltby, Acting Senior Agent, Ganjam, to R. Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort, St. George in Ganjam, March 8, 1875, No. 53.

124. Bq. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 1747 G), Madras Government, W.D. Horsley Agent to Governor in Ganjam to C A Galton, Acting Secretary to Board of Revenue, November 1, 1879, No. 286.

125. Bq. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1845G), Madras Government, T. J. Maltby Acting Senior Agent, Ganjam to R Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam, March 8, 1875, No 53.

126. Bq. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2467G), Madras Government, G.O., October 12, 1876, No. 2110.

127. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 11, 1957-58, p. 102, F.G. Bailey's, 'Political Change in the Kondmals'

they replied, "It was a very good thing, as they are all much richer now than when they gave all their lands and crops to the Sundis for liquor."[128]

Economic Exploiation

For a long time past, the Khonds were exploited economically mostly by the Sundis, the Sowcars or moneylenders and Oriya traders.

The Sundis or the distilling class had taken every opportunity to encourage the consumption of liquor.[129] To encourage the Khonds to buy liquor, the Sundis used to supply it either on credit or by advancing them loans of money. Very often the poor Khonds were unable to repay the loans, and had to give up their lands for the same.[130] In this connection T.J. Maltby reported thus, "In the hot weather, what the Khonds call the time of hunger, when they have eaten most of their store and exchanged the rest of these for the Sundi's liquor, the Khond generally wants to borrow, and this Sundi lends a Khond, say Rupees 2 on the security of two or three of the Khond's fields of paddy, to be paid in kind when the next crop is cut. The Khond has no friends to be present when he borrows the money, no written agreement is made; and when the Sundi returns in November with his Uriya followers and declares he lent Rupees 4 and not Rupees 2 and has his Uriya witnesses the Khond is helpless; the Sundi proceeds to cut the crop with his own people and walks off with four times the value of the money he gave the Khond, and the Khond say nothing".[131]

Indebtedness was one of the main features of the tribal economy of the nineteenth century. The Khonds in large

128. Bq. Procd , Jud (OSA L R Acsn 2467G), Madras Government, Report of Acting Agent, Ganjam on the administration of the Hill Tracts for 1875, May 25, 1876, No. 18·.
129. Angul Gazetteer, p. 68.
130. E. Thurston, op cit., Vol. III, pp. 358-359.
131. Ibid. p. 62.

numbers fell into debt. The Sowcars or moneylenders used to give the Khonds money easily for their drink, marriage and agricultural operations.[132] The amount of debt became so high that the repayment of the principal was difficult. So the Khonds subsequently lost their lands to the Sowcars. In certain cases they had to remain completely under these money-lenders. It was called debt slavery.[133] N. Macmichael has given an example of this exploitation in 1914. This was exactly the condition in the nineteenth century. He stated, "At Kusadandi a Khond complained that an Oriya Sowcar would not restore his lands though the debt was paid. The Sowcar produced a pro-note for Rs. 400 executed two years previously and professed his willingness to restore the lands as soon as the principal and interest (at 50 per cent) were paid. Evidence showed that the Sowcar had arrived at the figure of Rs. 400 by calculating compound interest on one of two petty loans of six or eight years standing without allowing the Khond any set-off for the fact that the Sowcar had been enjoying the lands all the time. When proper accounts were made out, it showed the Sowcar had to pay the Khond about Rs. 50 in addition to giving back the land. He also had to pay stamp duty of Rs. 80."[134]

That was not all. The Khonds were also exploited by the Oriya traders. That was because the Khonds were hardworking but foolish persons, good enough to go through the toil of growing turmeric, but not clever enough to handle its marketing, whereas the Oriyas were the reverse, of this. They were cunning traders who evaded the labour of growing turmeric but made ample profits from their trade in the commodity.[135]

132. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 44; L.N. Sahu, *The Hill Tribes of Jeypore*, p. 45.

133 Angul Gazetteer, p. 52.

134. Verrier Elwin, *A Brief Survey of the aboriginal tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput*, p. 10.

135. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 11, 1957-58, p. 101, F G. Bailey's 'Political change in the Kondmals'.

Feudal exploitation was very common to Khond society. Goti and Bethi system had made the Khond a slave.[136]

The Goti system was one of the chief abuses found in the Khond society. It was a kind of a slavery called debt slavery. Richard Temple has equated this Goti system 'with the ones which existed in early days of Rome and it was extremely difficult to put dow.'[137] Under the Goti system, a person, on receiving some money as advances, became the slave of his money-lender, by a written agreement, as long as the loan together with interest was not repaid. The Sowcars or money-lenders took advantage of the illiteracy, ignorance and indebtedness of the Khonds to dictate the terms and calculate the interest as they liked. They manipulated the accounts in such a way that the poor Khonds had to work for several years, even as long as he lived in some cases.[138] However in any case these labourers or Goti had to be fed and clothed.[139]

Bethi was another form of feudal servitude which existed among the Khonds. The Khonds contributed free labour for the land lords or the local feudal chiefs.[140] In return they were given free food and in some cases they owned rent free lands. The Khonds were entrusted by their masters with work like grazing their cattle, collecting wood from the jungle and constructing their buildings. The feudatory Rajas also demanded this free labour or Bethi from the Khonds. Very often this free labour was converted to forced labour.[141] The Khonds were compelled to work at any time as their Amalas wished. They were employed without payment for clearance of jungle. The roads were constructed by forced labour from Khonds and other tribal people.[142] According to the old

136. L N. Sahu, op. cit., p. 45.
137. Richard Temple's Report, p. 20.
138. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 43; S. Thiady, op. cit , p. 57.
139. Angul Gazetteer, p. 52.
140. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 9; Partially Excluded Areas Report, pp. 47, 84.
141. Daspalle Papers (OSA Acsn 9D/22).
142. Bq. Procd (OSA Acsn 45), H. Ricketts to C.L. Butington, Deputy Postmaster, Sambalpur, March 3, 1836.

custom of Daspalla State, the Khonds under this Bethi system used to supply the wood required for the cars of Lord Jagannath on the occasion of the famous car festival of Puri.[143]

Poverty

The Khonds, in general, were in the lowest depth of poverty.[144] The wants of this tribe were very modest. Even then those were not adequately supplied. The primary cause of such a condition lay in Human sacrifice—a rite which deluged the land with social evils. Feuds, and the remoteness of the marts, also contributed to aggravate the evil.[145] The exploitation of Sundis and Sowcars added to their sufferings.[146] Furthermore, the exchange of presents, and slaughtering of buffaloes during ceremonial visits in the wake of a marriage caused heavy financial burden and it was one of the chief poverty particularly among the Kuttia Khonds.[147]

Though the Khonds lived under extreme poverty, they did not resort to begging, because beggary was looked down upon with scorn and contempt. They regarded it as tantamount to acknowledging oneself a bonded servant. Thus the Khonds, indeed, would rather starve than beg. Latter on, however, they were induced with difficulty to accept agricultural loans from Government.[148]

Economic Development

With the march of times, economic development was noticed among the Khonds. This was because of the development of communication and transport under the British ad-

143. Daspalla Papers (OSA Acsn 4D/153).
144. SRG (India), No. V., 114;
S P.Rice, *Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life* (London, 1901), pp. 97-98.
145. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 13, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
146. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol III, pp, 358-359.
147. Neville A. Watts, op. cit., p. 61.
148. Angul Gazetteer, p. 69.

ministration which made the remote Khond hills accessible.[149] They also became economically advanced due to contact with the outer world.[150] Some measures were also taken by the British Government to save the Khonds from the hands of Sundis, Oriya Sowcars and traders of the plains. All these undoubtedly helped in the increase of the material prosperity of the Khonds.[151] With the spread of civilisation and the improvement in communications, the Khonds gradually adopted the customs and methods of Oriya Hindus. Its impact was seen in their agriculture and irrigation. Some of the Khonds settled at one place and followed regular cultivation like people of the plains.[152] In fact. after the famine of 1866 and the concurrent disturbances in the hill tracts, the Khonds were not affected much. So their prosperity began to increase gradually.[153] In this connection T.E. Ravenshaw rightly wrote in 1871, "The Khonds formerly possessed little property of any sort. A red cloth or a brass plate was rare. Now-a-days in most of the more respectable houses you see brass vessels in intolerable profusion. They have acquired considerable wealth in silver and brass ornaments, and where they formely went half-starved and half-naked, they have now an abundance of food and a liberal supply of raiment. Cultivation has extended, and they grow large quantities of cotton, oil seeds, and turmeric for export".[154] In fact towards the end of the nineteenth century the Khonds in many places were found prosperous and contended.[155]

149. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 90.
150. W W. Winfield, *A Grammar of the Kni Language*, p, XIV.
E. Thurston, op. cit , Vol. III, p. 359;
Verrier Elwin, *A brief survey of the aboriginal tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput*, p. 9.
152. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 65.
153. Ganjam Manual, p. 159.
154. Quoted in E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p, 301.
155. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 102, D.F. Carmichael, Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam to, A J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 26, 1864, No. 46; Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1840G), Madras Government, E. A. Elwin, Acting Senior Assistant Agent, Vizagaptam District, to Agent to Governor, June 12, 1888, No. 789; H.G. Turner, Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam. to Chief Secretary to Government, July 28, 1888, No. 516.

3

Social Life

Living in an inhospitable terrain, in the wild and hilly areas, being isolated from the more civilized people of the plains and largely unaware of rapid changes there, the Khonds preserved the primitive system of social organisation in tact. They furnish an interesting example of a primitive race of improvident social customs and habits. All those have been well illustrated in their village life.

Khond Villages

The social life of the tribals can best be understood from their villages and their geographical setting. They prefer to stay on the hill-tops.[1] They also feel contented to live in this blissful obscurity. The hill and jungle environment guarantee a tribal an isolation in which he and the fellow members of his tribe can live their lives in their own fashion. The Khonds were no exception to this general rule. Living in remote areas they did not favour outside intrusion.[2]

In choosing the site for their habitation, the Khonds displayed their own peculiar taste.[3] They loved to build their houses on the slopes of the valley overlooking their cultivation

1. Neville A. Watts, *The Half-Clad Tribals of Eastern India* (Bombay, 1970), p. 3.
2. Jeannette Bossert, *India—Land, People and Culture* (Delhi, 1974), p. 89.
3. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. X1X, p. 230.

which winds like a river amongst the hills.[4] The Khond villages were separated from each other by rugged peaks and dense forests.[5] They varied in size from twenty to eighty houses.[6] Each one lay embedded in a leafy grove, or at the foot of finely-wooded hills, or in some little green knoll in the valleys, well raised above the flood-level. The village generally consisted of two rows of houses, built along a broad curved street and closed at both ends by a strong wooden barrier.[7] Clusters of villages were always grouped together, for the purpose of defence and cultivation.[8] Almost everywhere the patriarch had his house in the very centre of the village, close to the cotton tree which the priest planted and dedicated to the village God, as the first requisite rite in building a hamlet.[9]

About the Khond houses Brown wrote in the 'Calcutta Christian Observer' in 1837, thus, "One uniform plan of building appears to prevail—which plan all must follow". Moreover, "the houses are as uniform as in the towns. One uniform plan obtains amongst them: like the cells of a beehive, the one is the facsimile of the other. The partician and plebeian—if such distinction indeed exists amongst them—are lodged the same. They eat, drink, sleep, and perform all the duties of life in precisely the same sort of habitation."[10]

There was found a notable feature of the villages in some parts, mostly in the Malkangiri taluk of Koraput District. A common platform was raised some six or eight feet above the ground in which animals were kept at night for security against panthers.[11]

4. E.T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, p. 295.
5. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 70.
6. Campbell's Narrative, p. 49.
7. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 230; The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846 h. 46, A Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there-The Khonds or Hill Tribes'
8. Campbell's Narrative, p. 49.
9. Ibid, p. 230.
10. CCO, April-July 1837.
11. R.C.S. Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput*, p. 85.

Other inhabitants in the Khond Hills

Although the Khonds formed the largest single element in the population, there were found other inhabitants in the Khond hills. Some of them were the Panas and Dombos, a degraded race, the Pariahs of the Maliahs.[12] The Panas were of Hindu origin. But having lived in the Khond community for centuries, they had come to follow the traditional beliefs and practices of the Khonds. The latter, however, considered themselves as socially inferior.[13] However these Panas managed most of the commerce of the hills and acted as interpreters between the Khonds and their neighbours.[14] They also transacted all business for the Khonds because the latter considered it beneath their dignity to barter or traffic. They regarded all those as plebeians who were not either warriors or tillers of the soil.[15] The Panas used to supply the Khonds with the victims who were to be sacrificed in Meriah festivals.[16] For this close association the Khond considered the Panas on an equal footing and allowed them to hold lands and share in the village festivals.[17] Equally the Panas looked upon the Khonds as their natural protectors and sought to identify themselves with the latter in every matter. As a rule the Panas had no voice in the public councils unless they had acquired lands by purchase.[18] Sometimes these Panas had exploited the ignorance and superstition of the Khonds and behaved as brokers, pedlars, sycophants and cheats.[19] Similarly the Dombos or Doms lived in Khond hill village, particularly in Koraput and Kalahandi districts. They were akin to the Panas of the adjoining Khond country, a pariah folk who lived amongst the Khonds and like the Panas, they used

12. See B. Rath, The Dombo—The Neighbours of the Kondh (Unpublished M. Sc. Dissertation of Utkal University, 1969)
13. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, pp. 4-5.
14 Ganjam Manual, p. 60.
15. Campbell's Narrative, p. 50.
16. Angul Gazetteer, p. 42.
17. E.T Dalton, op. cit., p. 299.
18. Ganjam Manual, p. 60.
19. Verrier Elwin, *A brief Survey of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput* (Cuttack, 1945), p. 9.

to supply the human victims for the Meriah sacrifices. These Dombos were however more active and they were found to have engaged themselves as weavers, traders, and money-lenders of the hills. In that sense they were very useful as middlemen between the Khonds and the traders of the plains.[20] Thus in general the relation of the Panas and Dombos with the Khonds was intimate, economically, ritually, and socially. Interdependence had made Panas and Dombos the advisers, creditors, middlemen and brokers of the Khonds. In a sense they were the predatory 'parasites' on the Khonds.[21] Besides them in each Khond hamlet there were certain other servile castes. They were the ironsmiths (Lohars), the Potters (Kumbhars), the herdsmen (Gaurs), and the distillers (Sundis). Their families had been living in the hamlet on a hereditary basis. They were found to have lived in the outskirts of the village, or in a separate row of huts assigned to them by the Khond ruling caste. And these classes had formed an essential element from time immemorial in the village community of the Khonds. That was because no Khond would engage himself in work which would degrade his position. Of course none of the servile classes could hold land, nor could any industry be raised by them in Khond village. At the same time the Khonds treated with kindness, gave them a portion in a feast and strongly resented any injury done to them. They considered any injury inflicted on them as that of their own.[22]

Houses

The houses of the Khonds were built on the ground with hewn slabs laid one upon another.[23] All those were plastered inside, thatched; and constructed in two rows.[24] The walls of the houses were made of timber bound together and plastered

20. Man, Vol. I, 1901, Nos. 1-153, p. 34, F. Fawcett's 'Notes on the Dombos of Jeypore'.
21. Man and Life, Vol. 2, Nos 1-2, Jan-June 1976, p. 37, L.K. Mohapatra's 'Social Pariahs in Orissa'.
22. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 229-230.
23. Ganjam Manual p, 54.
24. Hislop Papers, p. 13.

over with mud.[25] The Khonds made the roofs of their houses with bamboo, and then thatched them as thickly as possible with grass.[26] The houses were very small and low.[27] The pitch of the roof never exceeded eight feet. The object of making low roof was to ensure resistance of the violent storms which were common in the area during the monsoons.[28] Each house had a raised Verandah in the front, where men and women used to sit on their small Charpais, smoke or chitchat, spend their leisure and receive friends.[29] The houses were always carefully swept and smeared with cow-dung. Large stocks of fuel were stored in front of each house.[30] Each one contained usually three apartments. While in the centre the family dwelt, the other one was exclusively used for cooking, and the third was used as a store room.[31] The rooms were separated by railings.[32] There was only one door which in the cold season was firmly closed. The family slept inside round a wood fire burning at a central place.[33] There was an exception to this usual practice in Kalahandi. There the house of the Khonds had two doors, a door for access in the front, and another for exit in the rear.[34] The houses had no plinths.[35] These were often decorated with wood-carvings.[36] It used to take a Khond two years to build a house and it lasted from twenty to thirty years.[37]

25. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 64, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George, March 31, 1863.
26. Campbell's Narrative, p. 46.
27. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 7, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Populatien of Orissa'.
28. Madras Mail; 1894.
29. L.N. Sahu, *The Hill Tribes of Jeypore* (—,1942), p. 61.
30. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 85.
31. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-90, p. 7, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
32. Angul Gazetteer, p. 66.
33. E T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
34. Feudatory States Gazetteer, p. 201.
35. E T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
36. Verrier Elwin, *A Brief History of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput*, p. 16.
37. Angul Gazetteer, p. 65.

Usually they did not repair the house if it was in decaying condition. They preferred to build a new one at a different site, and none of the old materials were used for the purpose.[38]

The Khond huts, in general, were built for the accommodation of the father, the mother, and the younger children only. Boys and girls from eight to eleven years of age were to quit the house and take up their abodes in their respective clubs till they got themselves married.[39] The grown-up girls slept together in a dormitory called dangeniddu which was in charge of an old woman.[40] She was a sort of matron. She used to sleep inside and lock the door.[41] There was another separate dormitory for the young Khond males of the village and they were also placed in charge of an elderly female.[42] Although this system may appear to provide an opportunity for the loss of morals, yet that was not the case and Khonds usually remained chaste. However, T.E. Ravenshaw has observed that chastity was not one of their virtues, and that free intercourse between the sexes was not discouraged. But that was not a fact. The arrangement for separating the males from the females testified to their sense of chastity.[43] Of course premarital sex experience was approved in the Khond society. If anybody so desired, the village dormitory gave them the chance to experience the same.[44] And this was found as late as in 1883 by the British officials posted in the Khond hills.[45]

Family

Families of the Khonds were mostly nuclear and

38. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 46, A Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there-the Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
39. E.T. Dalton op. cit., p. 299.
40. Angul Gazetteer, p. 66.
41. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
42. L.N. Sahu, op. cit, p. 61.
43. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
44. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 26.
45. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1937G), Madras Government, Special Assistant Agent of Ganjam to Agent to Governor in Ganjam, July 28, 1883.

patrilineal.[46] The Khonds used to pay great respect to their superiors.[47] The women of the Khond families were expected to share almost every privilege with the men. Hence the women exercised great influence over the men. In domestic matters their sway was undisputed.[48] Mothers of families in particular were generally treated with much honour; and few things were said to be done either in the puplic or private affairs without their consent.[49] The wife used to exercise a considerable influence on her husband right from the day of marriage. And until the payment was made by the father of the bridegroom, the girl did not become the property of the husband.[50] Macpherson throws light on the status of Khond women in the following words, "They (women) were almost uniformly treated with respect,—the mothers of families generally with much honour. Nothing is done either in puplic or in private affairs without consulting them, they generally exert upon the counsels of their Tribes, a powerful influence favourable to humanity."[51] When Macpherson was engaged in Meriah sacrifice, one old Khond named Bhagwan Sow of Baramallik Mutha told him, "Our women are not deficient in intelligence but they have this fault, that when we are at feud with our next neighbours, we never dare to entruse to them any responsibility."[52] It is generally found that when field labour presses, a Khond wife in spite of remonstrances, binds her newly born babe round her waist and accompanies her husbands to toil along with him.[53] Walter Hamilton, in the beginning of the 19th century, saw the Khond women of Baud ploughing their field for cultivation.[54] Speaking of the position

46. K. Sharma, *The Kondh of Orissa : An Anthropometric Study* (New Delhi, 1979), p. 18;
    John V. Ferrcira, *Totemism in India*, p. 149.
47. Campbell's Narrative, p. 147.
48. Angul Gazetteer, p. 70.
49. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 30, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
50. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 83.
51. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 54.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid, p. 59.
54. Hamilton's Hindostan, Vol. II, p. 59.

of women Barbara M. Boal has written, "The function and responsibility of a wife, than, are two fold: first, the reproduction and upbringing of both boy and giel children; and second, the consistent shouldering of responsibility for all work that falls to her within the recognised pattern for the division of the sexes—the richer the husband, the greater the wife's share. This two-fold responsibility notwithstanding, she must always set her husband's welfare and wishes before all else."[55] The wives of the Khonds, became assets. Thus the women held a high position among the Khonds.[56] Reiterating it Macpherson writes, "Women, among the Khonds appear to enjoy a degree of social influence, at least equal to that which has been attributed to them in the patriarchal communities of Western Asia".[57]

The Khond women usually did not touch wine except on the festive occasions. That was because habitual intoxication was considered a great vice of the other sex. One who did it was held infamous.[58] Similarly, prostitution, whether secret or open, was unknown to them, and on the whole their standard of morality was good. Of course the girls used to extend their hands to those men with whom they had fallen in love and intended to marry.[59]

In the rudest state of society usually the domestic or conjugal union is marked by irregularity, degradation and bondage. But that was not the case with the Khonds. Their women were not degraded into an absolute drudge or slave. On the contrary, they usually enjoyed a degree of social influence suited to their genius.[60]

The Khonds had a good number of family titles suffixed to their names. Of those the most common were Malika, Kahanra, Padhan, Majhi, Naika and Ghatal. Besides those

55. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 23.
56. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p, 83.
57. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 53.
58. Ibid, p. 56.
59. Angul Gazetteer, p. 70.
60. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 30, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.

titles Jakeri, Jani, Dehuri and Bahauk were applied to those who performed priestly functions or assisted in sacrifices. Malika, Kahanra and Jani were purely Khond titles, and the rest appeared to have been borrowed from the outsiders.[61*]

No Caste System

The caste system which is the most peculiar of the social institutions of India[62] was absent in the Khond community.[63] In this connection Campbell writes, "The Khonds have no caste prejudices such as obtain universally on the plains of India."[64] The Khond priesthood had also no tendency to form a caste.[65]

Food and Drinks

The Khonds ordinarily used to take gruel of rice (peja). They also took it as sick diet. They generally took rice with some kind of pulse.[66] They could not afford to take vegetables. However seasonal wild leafy vegetables were collected, the surplus if any was dried, powdered and stored.[67] They were very fond of meat of all kinds-buffalo, goat, fowl, sambar (wild deer); but they did not take beef.[68] A few tiny fish from the reaped paddy-fields were sometimes eaten by the Khonds.[69] The Khonds did not drink milk. So their cattle were not milked.[70] In Khondmals women and grown-up girls did not eat pork, which was considered a delicious meal, because the young men

61. Angul Gazetteer, p. 47.
* See Appendix-C, showing the names of relationships in use among the Khonds.
62. L.S.S.O'Malley, *India's Social Heritage* (London, 1934) p.1
63. Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
64. Campbell's Narrative, p. 50.
65. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 93.
66. L.N. Sabu. op. cit., p. 61.
67. Sarbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 32
68. L.N. Sahu, op. cit. p. 61.
69. Sarbara M. Boal, *The Khonds*, p. 32.
70. Campbell's Narrative, p. 51;
Ganjam Manual, p. 56;
Neville A. Watts, op. cit., p. 39.

had made a vow never to marry one who had eaten this flesh.[71] However G. E. Russell writes that the Khonds used to eat anything except the dog, the domestic cat, beasts of prey, the vulture, the kite and the snake.[72]

Like other primitive tribes the Khonds were excessively fond of liquor.[73] The male Khonds were great consumers of liquor.[74] This fact was reported in a newspaper called the 'Madras Mail', of 1894 in the following words, "The women (Khond) are not addicted to drink, but the males are universally attached to liquor, especially during the hot weather, when the sago palm (solopo : Caryota urens) is in full flow. They often run up sheds in the jungle, near especially good trees, and drink for days together. A great many deaths occur at this season by falls from trees when tapping the liquor. Feasts and sacrifices are occasions for drinking to excess, and the latter especially are often scenes of wild intoxication, the liquor used being either mohwa, or a species of strong beer brewed from rice or koeri".[75] However, the drunkenness was found to have increased in the marriage season which started from April.[76] They were also frenzied with deep indulgence during the Meriah sacrifice.[77]

The Khonds tolerated Hindus of the Sundi, or spirit distilling caste, as they could not distil for themselves.[78]

Drunkenness did enough harm to the Khonds. It led to the poverty, wife-beating, and, worst of all-the loss of their lands.[79] It was difficult to wean them from this habit, as a

71. Angul Gazetter, p. 68.
72. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 13, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837.
73. Campbell's Narrative, p. 40; R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. III, p. 470.
74. Ganjam Manual, p. 58.
75. Madras Mail, 1894.
76. Ganjam Manual, p. 57.
77. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 15, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
78 E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 299.
79. L.S.S.O 'Malley, *Bengal, Bihar and Orissa Sikkim* (Cambridge. 1917). p. 196.

libation of liquor was offered to their Gods at all sacrifices done by them. Of course the Government made great efforts to prevent their drunkenness.[80] It was reported by the Commissioner, T.E. Ravenshaw, that the Khonds had agreed to submit to any well—concerted measures for the suppression of drunkenness.[81] This desire of the Khonds was encouraged by the Government in all possible ways. Towards the last part of the nineteenth century there had been a remarkable reduction in the number of distilleries and shops selling liquor. This was the result of the Government's excise administration.[82]

The Khonds used to smoke a kind of cigar, called Kaheli, made from tobacco grown by themselves. The leaves were plucked while green, dried over a fire, and stuffed into a cone made of a Sal leaf.[83] Such cigars were the indispensable companions of the Khond, and three to four of such cigars were found stuck in their waists and the hair.[84]

Dress and Ornament

The dress of the Khonds was simple.[85] The only garment of the men was a long cloth, a few inches wide, which was wrapped round the waist and twice through the legs. The ends of such garments were brightly coloured, hanging down behind like a tail.[86] The Bissoi, or Chief, and the members of his family used improved types of clothing. He was occasionally found to have worn a dress of honour made of silk or other expensive fabric, which he had received as a present from the European Agent of the Government.[87] The Khonds usually went bareheaded, and occasionally used

80. Angul Gazetteer, p. 63.
81. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 301.
82. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 99.
83. Campbell's Narrative, p. 42;
    Angul Gazetter, p. 68.
84. Camppell's Narrative, pp. 19, 42.
85. Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
86. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 408.
87. Campbell's Narrative, p. 18.

turbans which were also presented by Meriah Agents.[88] Referring to the dress of the Khonds of the mid-19th century J. P. Frye writes, "Cloth being an article of very limited import, the use of dress is confined amongst all to the narrowest bounds admitted by decency...The Patro himself is distinguished by a species of robe of office, consisting of a red blanket with variously coloured fringe. The Kondh is generally more scantily clothed than the Uriya, and his mode of dress more repulsive to decency, the cloth being old and foul".[89] Yet their festival dress consisted of a long narrow slip of cloth with fringed ends, the end hanging down like a tail. But the Khonds considered the head-dress as the characteristic feature of their vanity.

The clothing of the Khond women was nearly as limited as that of the males. Their dress consisted of a short petticoat reaching from the waist to the knee.[90] Nothing was worn over the neck and the bosom except ornaments.[91] The women of the Kuttia Khonds put on a kind of turban only on state occasions.[92] However in the outer taluks of the Khond tracts like Bissum Katak and Durgi, the Khonds were dressed very much like other Indian cultivators.[93]

The head-dress was a much more elaborate affair.[94] The thick black hair of the Khonds was worn very long, and drawn out in the fashion of a horn, inside which usually the Khond used to keep his comb, pipe, and other little domestic

88. SRG (Madras), Jeypore No. LXXXI, p. 67, D.F. Carmichael Acting Agent to Governor. Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George, March 31, 1863; C.F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Report*, 1881.
89. JRASGBI, Vol. XUII, 1859-90, p. 13, J P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
90. H.H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 408.
91. C F. Mac Carties, *Madras Census Report*, 1881; Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
92. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 367.
93. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No LXXXI, p. 67, D.F. Carmichael, Acting Agent to Governor, Vizagapatam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George, March 31, 1863.
94. Campbell's Narrative, p. 17.

requisites.[95] Often the hair was tied with a piece of red cloth or even paper, and decorated with the bright feathers of the peacock or other favourite bird.[96] In the southern part of the tract the Khonds used to decorate the head with a white or coloured fillet.[97] The hair-dress of the Khonds of the Ganjam Maliahs finds mention in the 1894 issue of 'Madras Mail' thus, "He (Khond) centres his great love of decoration in his hair. This he tends, combs and oils, with infinite care, and twists into a large loose knot, which is caught with curiously shaped pins of Sumbur bone, gaily coloured combs and bronze hair pins with curiously ornamented designs, and it is then gracefully pinned over the left eyebrow. This knot he decorates according to his fancy with the blue feathers of the jay (Indian roller ; Coracias indica), or the white feathers of the crane and stork, or the feathers of the more gorgeous peacock. Two feathers generally wave in front, while many more float behind. This knot, in the simple economy of his life, also does duty as a pocket or pincushion."[98]

Generally a Khond girl in the marriageable age got her face tattooed with some quaint designs.[99] Concurrently ear-boring used to be performed.[100] However the tattooing was done for ornamentation of the body.[101] It was considered so graceful an ornament that no Khond would accept a girl who had not adorned herself with such ornamentation.[102] The face was

95. C.F. MacCarties, *Madra Census Report*, 1881;
Ganjam Manual, p. 55;
Angul Gazetteer, p. 40;
96. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 12, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837;
The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 2, A. Duff's 'Goomsur;
The Late War there-The Khonds or Hill Tribes;
JRASGBI Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 13, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Oriss'.
97. Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
98. Madras Mail, 1894.
99. Angul Gazetteer, p. 66.
100. C.F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Rport*, 1881.
101. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 472.
102. Angul Gazetteer, p. 66;
S.B. Thiady, *Phnlbani-The Khondland*, p. 7.

tattooed with the fine lines keeping the nose as the centre.[103] Across both the cheeks, from the temple to the lobes of the ears, were drawn straight, dotted lines at right angle to one another. Then over the forehead and chin a string of small regular geometrical figures, such as triangles, circles and diamonds, were punctured. The same figures were also punctured near the lips and eyes.[104] Sometimes the calf of the leg and the arms, hands and chest were tattooed with figures of trees, flowers, fishes, crocodiles, lizards and scorpions.[105] Some tattoo marks were also said to have represented moustache, beard and the implements used in tilling the soil for cultivation.[106] The punctures for the tatoo marks were made with a thickneedle and were smeared with a mixure of lamp-black and the juice of the plantain, after which liquid turmeric was rubbed over the tattooed surface. Nothing acidic like tamarind was to be eaten until the punctures had been healed. The operation was performed by Khond women. They were known to have been paid four annas for each case of tattooing.[107]

The Khond women were very much fond of ornamentation of their bodies.[108] They took delight in decking themselves with flowers. They also took pride in the silver ornaments that jangled on their naked breasts.[109] Campbell in this connection has written "The Khond women are as scantily clad as men. They partake of the prevailing weakness of their sex-an intense love of ornaments and finery."[110] Different ornaments were worn by the females, although all those differed from mutha to mutha. For example, only in some parts of the Ghumsar Maliahs, the use of glass and brass beads was confined to married women, virgins being restricted to

103. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 408.
104. Angul Gazetteer, p. 66.
105. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 472.
106. C.F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Report*, 1881.
107. Angul Gazetteer, p. 66.
108. M. A. Sherring, *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, p. 202.
109. Stanley P. Rice, *Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life*, p. 98.
110. Campbell's Narrative, p. 43.

decorations composed of plaited grass.[111] The ears of Khond women were pierced at the edges in ten to twelve different places.[112] Accordingly the married women used to wear ten or twelve brass ear-rings of different patterns. But in certain other regions, young unmarried girls used to wear pieces of broom in the ear-holes. And they wore it till their wedding day when those were replaced by brazen rings.[113] Sometimes instead of rings, the women wore an ornament, either of gold or brass, in the shape of a button. Nose-rings made of gold, silver or brass with heavy brass bangles on the wrists along with hollow brass anklets were also worn.[114] Anklets were indispensable in the dance on account of the jingling noise produced by them.[115] Copper coins were sometimes used for personal decoration, generally those of children. Such coins were strung together and made into a necklace.[116] Like the Khond women, the male Khonds used to wear beads, ear-rings, nose-rings and hair-pins.[117]

After marriage the Khonds never shaved their heads. The women simply rolled the hair up at the back and adorned it with flowers, a number of large silver pins and a silver band across the head. The young men shaved themselves, but the old ones preferred to keep beards.[118]

Amusement

The Khonds amused themselves in various ways such as hunting, dancing and singing.

Hunting

The Khonds were passionately fond of hunting. Forest

111. C.F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Report*, 1881,
112. Ganjam Manual, p. 55.
113. C.F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Report* 1881.
114. Ibid. p. 55.
115. C.F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Report*, 1881.
116. Campbell's Narrative, p. 18.
117. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 362;
R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 65;
Campbell's Narrative, p. 18.
118. Angul Gazetteer, p. 67.

people that they were, they pursued it with eagerness and love. Regarding their hunting, 'Madras Mail' has given the following account

> "The Khonds are very keen in the pursuit of game, for which the hot weather is the appointed time, and, during this period, a sambar or 'bison' has but little chance of escape if once wounded by an arrow, as they stick to the trail like sleuth hounds, and appear insensible to distance or fatigue.".[119]

John Campbell, who had gone into the interior of the Khond hills gives the following description :

> "They (Khonds) are passionately fond of hunting, and pursue the sport with an eagerness and ardour found only amongst people of the forest. Their hunting season opens about April, at which period they burn the underwood and rank grass of the jungle, an operation which drives the wild beasts from their lairs to seek refuge in the unburnt forest. While thus moving from one point to another, they are pursued by the Khonds, who are exceedingly expert at tracking game and running down wounded animals."[120]

Reiterating it further Campbell writes :

> If, while hunting, an elk or other large game is wounded, the measure of his 'gotteru' or slot is taken; they then have an admitted right to pursue to any place, either within or without their own boundaries, until an animal is killed or captured. A divison of the quarry is now made in accordance with well-established usage-so many portions to the hunters, so many to the villagers on whose land it has been killed; and not unfrequently the Rajah, or low country chief, comes in for a share. In the event of any dispute regarding the identity of the pursued animal, the

119. Madras Mail, 1894.
120. Campbell's Narrative, p. 40.

measure of the first slot is produced, and received as conclusive."[121]

A hunting party generally consisted of thirty to fifty persons who drove and mobbed the game.[122] While hunting they used to carry arms like the bow, arrows, and Tangi or battle-axe which could inflict a serious wound.[123] But the Khonds were not acquainted with the use of poison at the tip of their arrows, although the neighbouring Sourahs used poison so as to kill the tigers.[124]

During the hunting season universal drunkenness and revelry prevailed. The men gathering in small groups used to absorb their fermented juices.[125]

Music and Dance

Marriages, religious festivals, seasonal changes, and big events in the community provide the tribal people with manyfold opportunities for musical performance and dancing. And the Khonds were no exception to it.

The Khond music was of ancient origin.[126] Their musical instruments were of a rude kind, with which they contrived to make a good deal of noise at their festivals. Drums and trumpets were used on request.[127] The Shepherd's pipe was another musical instrument of the Khonds.[128] The most important musical intrument of theirs was called the Khond 'Deka' used for personal pleasure while singing when sitting round the hearth in the winter or on the doorstep in the hot season.[129] Of course it is not common today.[130] However

121. Campbell's Narrative, p. 41.
122. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 188.
123. Madras Mail, 1894.
124. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 188.
125. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 41-42.
126. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 212.
127. Campbell's Narrative, p. 16;
E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300.
128. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1359-60, p. 16, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
129. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, pp. 212-215.
130. H.A, Popley, *The Music of India* (London, 1921), pp. 111-112.

this 'Deka' was a two-stringed gourd-resoneted bamboo stick-violin.[131] The concerts of the Khonds were pastoral as well as elegiac. They used rustic instruments and sang marriage songs with the confession of the lover as the theme. The poet chanted rather than sang, accompanied by a player with a two-stringed lute. The effect was wild, and it became unpleasant for the non-tribals or more advanced people. But they did not mind as it was the unique feature of their culture.

"Probably these performances", writes Campbell, "have degenerated, like the people who flock to them, and are vestiges of musical and poetical excellence that flourished in the ancient kingdom—the ruins of a lost civilization, that distinguished Orissa in a far distant age."[132]

The Khond poetry was rythmical. In general, one idea was conveyed in a stanza. The main word in the first line was repeated by a synonym in the last. The poetry was sung to relieve the mental agony of the Meriah on the eve of the sacrifice. There were also ploughing and marriage songs,* with amatory poems, and dirges used at the time of death. The couplets varied from each other. But a metre was observed in each of the stanzas. Except the harmony, there was nothing attractive in the versification. The poverty of ideas was in all cases perceptible. The songs were usually short. At the commencement of a couplet the singers started with pitched voice and gradually falling towards its close. At times the whole poem was recited in a low chant.[133]

Every tribe has its own particular dance. So the Khonds have their own. In fact they were very fond of dancing.[134] It formed a principal amusement for them.[135] Both men and

131. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 214.

132. Campbell's Narrative, p. 17.

* Variety of songs have been given in JAS, Vol. LXVIII, Part-III, No 1, pp. 1-13, J E. Friend-Pereira's 'Some Khond Songs'.

133. JRASGBI, Vol XVII, 1859-60, pp. 17-18, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kond Population of Orissa'.

134. Ganjam Manual, p. 57;
E T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300

135. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859s60, p. 16, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.

women of the Khond tribe used to dance and become happy. In such dances, and females came in contact with each other resulting in erotism at times.[136]

The Khonds, like the Oraons, had a dancing place in every village, surrounded by stones or wooden seats and shaded by venerable trees.[137] This house was called 'Dhangada' which was set apart for the purpose. There the young men and maidens used to meet.[138]

The dancers of both the sexes paid particular attention to their dress and to the arrangement of their hair. The ball dress when complete was apparently akin to that of the Oraons.[139] The dancing girls got themselves bedecked with brass bangles, anklets, and necklaces of beads [140]

The necessary preparation was made before the commencement of the dance. The girls stood in semi-circles with two rows. They stood close together,touching one another. Their hands were employed in holding the dress. With the increase of excitement the girls sang, the youngmen responding. Gradually the movement became brisker and brisker until all participants broke into a romp in which the girls pinched the boys and pecked at them with their hands like Juang the girls when performing the vulture dance. In other respects the dance was similar to that of the Bhuiya class.[141]

The dance of the Kuttia Khonds was most elementary in nature. The dances stood in row-boys in one, girls in the other. They faced each other linking arms with each other. The boys sang alternately with the girls. While dancing they shuffled back and forth, swang up and down and even jumped with the mounting excitement of the dance and song. Boys kept rhythmically striking two small sticks together.[142]

136. L.N. Sahu, op. cit., p. 43.
137. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300.
138. anjam Manual, p. 57.
139. E T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300.
140 L.A. Krishna Ayer and L.K. Bala Ratnam, *Anthropology in India* (Bombay, 1961), p. 215.
141. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300.
142. Neville A. Watts, op. cit., p. 59.

The Khonds, like other tribes, performed martial dance called war dance. In it, they armed themselves and decorated themselves with red cloth and feathers. They grouped themselves into two parties, and a mimic fight between the two took place. While one side gave way, the other persued at times. The fallen dancers were carried off in triumph.[143]

John Campbell has narrated another form of war dance thus :

> They (the Khond men) dance alone, or in pairs (men only), and the step is a stuffing one, the eyes on the ground, the arms close to the body, and the elbow at an angle with the closed hand. The dancer (sometimes two dancers) advances in a line to a certain point, which, having attained, he holds up his head, wheels round, and returns the way he came. In Boad and Goomsur the battle-axe is brandished during the step, but in other districts, Sooradadh, SC., the dance is less warlike, the only accompaniment being the pipe and sometimes the time is marked by the hand-clapping of the spectators."[144]

The Khonds also performed a number of hunters' dances. In those dances the perfomers, by their actions and gestures, demonstrated the various phases of the hunt, including the one in which ultimately the wild animal was captured or killed.[145] Of those, the dance representing a bison hunt was a colourful item. In this dance, one man wearing the horns and skin of the animal took the lead followed by the remainder, who captured him after a brief chase, and carried him off a trophy.[146]

Another common dance found among the Khond community was the processional dance. At a festival, the village band, followed by a column of girls gaily decorated with flowers, went in procession which continued night and day during the festival. As they advanced, a Shaman led the

143 E.T. Dalton, op cit., p. 300.

144. Compbell's Narrative, p. 164.

145. L.A. Krishna Iyer and L.K. Bala Ratnam, op. cit., p. 211.

146. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300.

singing. In this dance, every ancestor must be remembered while signing as any spirit if ignored could be every malicious. The Khonds danced on and on advancing and retiring, the heels alternately clashing against each other, in tune to the music. In this dance perfect grace of movement was combined with extreme modesty.[147]

Thus, the dances of the Khonds with vigorous and relentless movement clearly demonstrated their remarkable stamina, and unerring sense of rhythm.

Art

The Khonds were no less artists either. Of course the inconvenient atmosphere and general poverty had considerably discouraged their artistic achievements. Side by side, the actual rules of the tribes and castes worked to restrict greatly the materials they could use for the purpose. So in a rude state of Khond society, the variety and development of art was limited and stationary.[148] Even then there were a few of them who worked in bronze or iron. Pottery was a taboo and weaving was usually avoided.

The aboriginals including the Khonds were generally restricted by custom or taboo and had to find satisfaction of their artistic impulses in the decoration of their own bodies. The custom of adorning the skin by tattooing had survived among the Khonds. The designs which the Khonds used to tatoo their bodies in elicited admiration from others. Furthermore, the manner in which the Kuttia Khond dancers decorated themselves with white and red stripes exhibited their artistic genius.[149] The hair-do of the Khonds of the nineteenth century testified to their artistic mettle. Even the hair pins used by the Khonds which were made of Sambhar bone were quite attractive. Their other ornaments like beads,

147. Marg, Vol XIII. December 1959, No. 1, p. 63, Verrier Elwin's 'Sacred Ceremonies of the Khonds'

148. The Calcutta Review, Vol V, No IX, 1846, p, 45, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there—The Khonds of Hill Tribes'.

149. Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India* (Bombay, 1951), p. 10.

ear-rings, nose-rings, anklets, bangles and necklace demonstrated their artistic skill.[150]

The tobacco-tubes and tobacco cases used by the Khonds speak of their sense of artistic beauty. The tobacco-cases were made from a single node of bamboo and ornamented with the fine point of a knife. It was rubbed with oil and ash.[151]

The Khonds displayed their artistic skill on bronze. These bronze artefacts of the nineteenth century can be found in the Madras Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum of London and in the Tribal Research Institute of Bhubaneswar. These bronze artefacts can be put under four categories. The first category of bronze artefacts was used in human sacrifice. The second category included lineage-group emblems, the third included a bride's dowries; and the fourth category was used for various purposes.[152]

The Khonds used to make figures of elephants, peacocks, dolls (i.e., humans), fishes and the like in brass. Those were kept in their houses. They made special offerings to them at time of affication or sickness in the household or in connection with a recent ancestor's death.[153] The other bronze articles of the Khonds which invite admiration were bulls, horses, tortoises, cobras, deer, leopards, axes, pots, vessles, figures of musicians and ornaments. The bronze figures of the Khond mother with facial tattooing and the baby preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London is a fine specimen of the Khonds' bronze-art.

Anthropomorphic images of the deities were rare among the tribals of India. The Khonds had few of such artefacts. Mention may be made of the stone-made Earth Goddess of

150. OHCP, XVI Session, 1990, N.R. Patnaik's Art and Architecture of the Khond tribe in the Nineteenth Century'.

151. Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle*, p. 68.

152. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 200.

153. MJLS, Vol. V, January-June 1837, p. 41, W. Taylor's 'On the language, manners and rites of the Khoonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsur Mountains; from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'.

the Khonds. In this connection, it may be pointed out that Khond shrines had rarely any icons.

The masks made of wood or gourd were other specimens of the Khond art. When the practice of Meriah sacrifice was stopped in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Khonds preserved the human skulls which the priests used to place in front of the Earth Goddess at the time of buffalo sacrifice, a substitute of Meriah sacrifice. But subsequently the skulls got damaged or destroyed by fire. Then the Khonds made masks representing human skulls.[154] These masks were usually made of gourds and very often decorated with red and white beads.

An important requirement in the Meriah sacrifice was the pillar to which the victim was bound. Those were wooden ones, well-decorated. After the abolition of Meriah sacrifice, the replicas of those pillars were made and erected specially by the Kuttia Khonds in their little hovels. These pillars were five to six feet high, and generally forked. Of course not every Khond could make these pillars. Those were the works of individuals who were gifted with the art of carving. But the Khonds took pride in them and they were often the only material objects of some dignity and beauty that they had.[155]

The style of Khonds' habitations had created a species of architecture. The beautiful situation of the Khond villages, either in the midst of clusters of trees, or at the base of the wooded hills, or on the knolls of the valleys showed their love for beauty.[156] The style and plan of constructing the houses were no way inferior to those of the tribal people in other parts of India. The wall-decorations and the wood-carvings in the houses were distinguished features of Khond-art. Wall-painting on the verandhas of Khond houses and their paintings for Bhimul Pennu were quite impressive, although those were lacking in perfection and finesse. The background of the paintings was of smooth dark earth, only rarely smeared

154. Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, pp. 138-139.
155. Ibid, pp. 179-182.
156. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 46, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there—the Khonds or Hill Tribes'.

with cowdung, but sometimes washed with a red clay against which the white designs stood out sharply. These paintings were the most evanescent of all; once made, no one ever looked at them; sometimes those were rubbed out and new pattern were prepared. The mud on a Khond wall was so thinly plastered that it used to be quickly washed away during the rains and worst of all, the entire village was shifted every few years, the houses were broken up, and the labour and art forgotten.[157] The wood-carvings, particularly those on the doors of Khond houses, were good specimens of the Khond-art. Sometimes these carvings were done by the Panas. The figures of peacocks, elephants, and the hunting scenes carved on the doors were quite impressive.

Thus the Khonds were not at all backward in the field of art and architecture. Of course they did not prize them.

Khond Wars

The Khonds were a war-like tribe. Their theory of existence was that a state of war might be logical against all tribes and nations with whom no express agreement could be made. Even between the tribes of the same federal cluster, peace was a matter of stipulation or contract. Hence, while order and security prevailed within each tribe, discord and confusion became the order of the day among others.[158]

The Khonds were very excitable, and jealous of any encroachment on their village properties. Hence they were continually at war with one another.[159] Of course it was not always concerned with land; quarrels over women were a frequent cause of war.[160] However, when they went for war, "It was", writes Reverend Brown in 'Calcutta Christian Observer' (April-July 1837), "to exterminate, not subdue; for revenge and not honour. They destroy without mercy; neither age, sex, guilt or innocence is spared."[161]

157. Verrier Elwin, *The Tribal Art of Middle India*, p. 173.
158. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 221.
159. Ganjam Manual, p. 58.
160. F.G Bailey, *Tribes Castes and Nation*. p. 60.
161. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 48, A. Duff's Goomsur; the late war there—The Khonds of Hill Tribes'.

Every Khond man was armed with a Tangi, a sort of battle axe, the handle of which was covered in many parts with brass wire for protection and ornamentation.[162] The blade of this axe was divided into two points resembling the rays of a star-fish.[163] The Khonds also used bows and arrows. With regard to the weapons Macpherson writes, "The arms of the Khonds are light, long-handed sword,* with a blade very curiously curved, the bow and arrow, and the sling-no shields are used. The axe is used with both hands, to strike, and guard, its handle being for the latter purpose partly defended by brass plates and wire. The Khond is peculiarly dexterous in a species ricochet short with the bow which it is difficult for a man to avoid blending down, he makes his shaft fly, it is said, so as to strike the ground with its heel, at a short distance from its object, which it strikes in rising below the line of vision."[164]

The Khonds never used superior weapons like matchlock, sword or shield which their Oriya chiefs or Bissoi always used.[165] They were very much averse to the use of guns and gunpowder, stating that the bows and arrows were the genuine weapons of a Khond.[166] In fact they were very skilled bowmen and experts in throwing the axe.[167]

The war dress of the Khonds was elaborate and supposed to strike awe into the beholder's mind.[168] It consisted of a turban, adorned with a crest of feathers, and a stong cloth encircling his loins.[169] Furthermore, about the war dress Campbell has witten thus, "It is only when they (Khonds)

162. Ganjam Manual, p. 54.
163. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 15, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
* Now not used by the Khonds, and believed to be a misprint for the word 'axe'.
164. Ganjam Manual, p. 59.
165. Campbell's Narrative, p. 40.
166. Ganjam Manual, p. 54.
167. Stephen Fuchs, *The Aboriginal Tribe, of India*, p. 183.
168. C F. MacCarties, *Madras Census Report*, 1881.
169. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-90, p. 15, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.

go out to battle and tribe meets tribe in hostile array, that they adorn themselves with all their finery. They swathe their heads, in thick folds of cotton cloth, with peacock's feathers waving in defiance, cover their bodies with pieces of skins of bears or elks; and proud indeed is the warrior who can sport over all a couple of yards of red cloth''.[170]

The Khonds marched to battle in a very impressive manner, singing, shouting and brandishing their battle-axes and always under the influence of strong potations.[171] The different tribes used to fiight with each other on the meanest trlfle. Yet they had a remarkable customs in this regard. As soon as the fighting terminated, the women from both the sides condoled the loss of their nearest and common relatives.[172] Yet the women were never attached in these wars. But if they were young they would be seized as wives.[173]

The following eye-witness account of a battle between rival Khond clans has been given by Macpherson. It was all about the fight between the hostile tribes of Bora Mutha and Bora Des in the Ghumsar territory :

> "At about 12 O'clock in the day the people of Bora Des began to advance in a mass across the Salki river, the boundary between the Districts, into the plain of Kurmingia, where a much smaller force was arrayed to oppose them. The combatants were protected from the neck to the loins by skins, and cloth was wound round their legs down to the heel, but the arms were quite bare. Round the heads of many, too, cloth was wound, and for distinction the people of Bora Muta wore peacock's feather in their hair, while those of Bora Des had cock's tail plumes. They advanced with horns blowing, and the gongs beat when they passed a village. The women followed behind carrying pots of water and food for refreshments,

170. Campbells's Narrative, p. 42.
170. H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, pp. 98-99; Cambell's Narrative, p. 16.
172. H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 99.
173. F.G. Bailey, *Tribe Castes, and Nation*, p. 61.

and the old men who were past bearing arms were there, giving advice and encouragement. As the adverse parties approached, showers of stones, handed by the women, flew from slings from either side, and when they came within range arrows came in flights and many fell back wounded. At length single combats sprang up betwixt individuals who advanced before the rest, and when the first man fell all rushed to dip their axes in his blood, and hacked the body to pieces. The first man who, himself unwounded, slew his opponent, stuck off the latter's right arm and rushed with it to the priest in the rear, who bore it off as an offering to Laha Pennu (the Iron God or the God of Arms or the War God) in his grove. The right arms of the rest who fell were cut off in like manner and heaped in the rear beside the women, and to them the wounded were carried for care, and the fatigued men constantly retired for water. The conflict was at length general. All were engaged hand-to-hand, and now fought fiercely, now paused by common consent for a moment's breathing. In the end the men of Bora Des, although superior in numbers, began to give way, and before four O'clock they were driven across the Salki, leaving sixty men dead on the field, while the killed on the side of the Bora Muta did not exceed thirty. And from the entire ignorance of the Khonds of the simplest healing processes, at least an equal number of the wounded died after the battle. The right hands of the slain were hung up by both parties on the trees of the villages and the dead were carried off to be burned. The people of Bora Des the next morning flung a piece of bloody cloth on the field of battle, a challenge to renew the conflict which was quickly accepted, and so the contest was kept up for three days".[174]

These wars had affected the life and condition of the Khonds. Some muthas had suffered grievously from long-

174. Macpherson's Memorials, pp. 79-80.

existing feuds, in consequence of which much land had become waste and neglected.[175]

Further, in the Ghumsar rebellion of 1836, the system of warfare led to burning of the villages, and forced the inhabitants to desert their home lands. In this way more than three-fourth of the villages in the Ghumsar were destroyed, and the country at the end of the war was almost depopulated.[176]

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Custom at child birth

In the three great incidents of human life—birth, marriage, and death—the Khond delighted to be surrounded with ceremonies and solemnities, all of his own. The expectant mother used to invoke the village deity for her future offspring. In case of the delay in her delivery the priest led her to the meeting place of two springs, where he sprinkled on her water, while making an offering to the God of Birth.[177] However, a month before her date of delivery the woman with her husband used to pay a visit to her parent's house and get from them some toys for the expected child. These toys consisted of usually a small bow and arrow, a winnowing fan, and a small basket. These were hung in the house till they were wanted. Similarly a few days before the expected date of delivery both husband and wife used to leave their house and take up their abode in an outside room set apart for this purpose. There the husband cooked and ate with the wife, and in the case of the first confinement he or his father used to sacrifice a pig with offerings of cooked and uncooked rice and libations of strong drink to the spirits of their ancestors, so that nothing might go wrong.[178]

On the approach of the birth of a child all male members used to be turned out of the house.[179] No one would enter

175. Campbell's Narrative, p 194.
176. Ganjam Manual. p. 151.
177. W.W. Hunter; *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.
178. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 402.
179. Ganjam Manual, p. 57.

the room while the woman was undergoing labour pain as she was supposed to be ceremonially unclean. Only the husband could give any assistance that was necessary.[180] Sometimes the woman with labour pain was attended by an elderly Khond midwife, who shampooed her abdomen with castor oil.[181] After the birth of the child the umbilical cord was cut by the mother of the infant and she also bathed the child.[182] For cutting the navel cord, the right thigh of the baby was flexed towards its abdomen. Then a piece of cool charcoal was placed on the right knee. The cord was then placed on the charcoal, and separated from the body of the mother with the sharp edge of an arrow. The placenta was buried close to the house near a wall. After the cord had been severed, the mother daubed the infant's navel region with her saliva over which she smeared caster-oil. She then got her hands warmed on fire and placed such hands on the infant's body.[183] Sometimes the infant was held before a hot fire.[184] However this action was repeated several times daily for four or five days. When the umbilical cord had sloughted off, a spider being burnt to ashes over a fire and placed in a cocoanut shell was mixed with caster-oil, and applied by means of a fowl's feather to the navel region.[185] In case of Kuttia Khonds, if the new born child happened to be a boy, then its navel cord was to be cut with the head of an arrow; but if it was a girl, a hooked knife was used. These instruments were stored carefully for they would be used again at the naming ceremony of the child [186] For a day after the birth of the child, the mother was allowed no food. And on sixth day she herself shaved the child's head and cut his nails short with her teeth. Then she took a bow and arrows and stood with the child facing successively to the four directions. The idea

180. H.H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 402.
181. E Thurston, op. cit., Vol III, p. 393.
188. Ganjam Manual, p. 57.
183. E. Thurston, op, cit,, Vol. III, p. 393.
184. Ganjam Manual, p. 57.
185. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 393-394.
186. Neville A. Watts, op. cit,, p, 55.

behind it was to make a child a skilful hunter in later life.[187] The infant's body used to be smeared daily with castor-oil and turmeric paste until he was one month old.[188]

A month afterwards, the child was taken to its uncle's house, where a fowl was presented to the parents which was taken home and eaten by them.[189] The consumption of the fowl varied according to the locality. While in some places, the infant's father, and other relations, except the mother, might eat it, in other places, the father, paternal grandfather and grandmother and paternal uncle, might partake it.[190]

Further, after the birth of the child and the removal of the placenta, the cooking pots hitherto used were broken after which alone visitors were admitted to the house. Yet they might not eat with the parents of the child until twelve more days had elapsed. They used to eat only when further breaking of pots took place, and a feast was given to the neighbours.[191]

Among the Ghumsar Khonds, W Taylor narrates that for a month after a birth, the mother did not eat anything from the household vessels. On the completion of the one month they used to make baji* with the animals they killed and the liquor they procured for the occasion. The victuals used to be cooked by the mother of the child. By pouring a small quantity of liquor on the ground (as a libation) she used to say, "O beneficient goddess! preserve my child" Then the prepared food and curries were distributed to the houses of their various relations. Yet the immediate neighbours were found to have consumed as much liquor as they pleased, and made baji.[192]

In Koraput, this custom was somewhat different from that

187. R.V. Rassell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 468.
188. E. Thurston, op. cit. Vol. III. p. 394.
189. Ganjam Manual, p. 57.
190. E. Thurston, op. cit , Vol. III, p. 394.
191. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 402.
* Baji : A riotous banquet, or a feast.
192. MJLS, Vol. V. January-June 1837, p. 39, W. Taylor's 'On the Language Manners and Rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains, from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'.

of the Kuttia Khonds. For twenty-one days after the birth of the child the mother was regarded as polluted. On the twenty-first day the baby's head was shaved along with smearing the body with oil and turmerico. Then the village women used to come to the house and wash their feet with turmeric water, and join in a feast, the items of which were cooked and served by the mother.[193]

After the birth of the child, a curious rite was performed by the Khonds to determine the name of the ancestor whose soul had been reincarnated in the child. The custom of the Kuttia Khonds was that a bunch of leaves was held before the child, either by the father, or by the priest. One by one the names of the ancestors of the child were called. When the child touched the leaves, it was believed that the soul of that ancestor had entered into the child.[194]

Yet in the Khondmals the method of determining the above was quite different. There, the village priest, or one who was versed in the genealogy of the village, held a bow firmly in both hands and repeated the names of all the ancestors, male and female, in quick succession. While mentioning the name one after another, if the bow began to tremble slightly he was believed to have animated the new-born child. Then he was shaved and presented to the tribe. While the child was so presented, the roasted liver of a fowl offered to the spirit was placed on its tongue. A feast was also given to the villagers. No particular ceremony was observed while naming the children. However one child was often named after the great grand-father, but the father did not name the child. There was no special season for naming the children. So many of them remained without one till the age of five or six. Till then they were called merely 'little boy' or 'little girl'.[195]

But among certain Khonds, the child was named after one of the ancestors. These Khonds believed that the ancestors

193. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 66.
194. Neville A. Watts, op. cit., p. 55.
195. Angul Gazetteer, p. 57.

used to come back through the body of the child.[196] To determine the child's name the priest used to drop grains of rice into a cup of water. Each grain was named after a deceased ancestor. From the movement of the grain in the water, the priest pronounced the ancestor who had reappeared before him. Accordingly the child was given the name of that ancestor.[197] After the children were named, they were made to ride a goat or a pig, as a mark of respect to the ancestors who had been reborn in them.[198]

In this connection J.A.R. Stevenson in 1837 has furnished the following description :

> "Six months after (the child-birth), on a fixed day, they make Gaduthuva (supposed to mean the same as 'Nama-karma' or ceremony of naming the child). On that day killing a hog, and procuring liquor, they make baji. They wash the feet of the child. The Jani being come, he ties a cord from the half to the point of a sickle, they divine by means of it. Having assembled the Petrilu (literally ancestors, but here denoting household images, or gods) they put rice on the sickle. As the names (of the ancestors or family) are repeated in order. each time the rice is put on, that name is chosen on the mention of which the sickle moves, and is given to the child. They then drink liquor, and eat baji. They give rice and flesh to the Jani".[199]

Among the Kuttia Khonds, the naming ceremony was observed with all importance. When the child first fell ill it was presumed that it was now time for the naming ceremony to be performed. During the course of the illness a medicine-man was called. He decided the kind of animal to be sacrified at the ceremony. Soon after the full recovery of the child, the

196. William Crooke, *The Tribes and Castes of the North-Western India*, Vol. III, p. 331
197. J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion* (Reprint, New York, 1953) Vol. I, p 298.
198. R.V Russell and R B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol III, p. 469.
199. Ibid, pp. 39-40

naming ceremony took place. It was an important ritual and was attended by all the relatives of the child. Prior to the ceremony the house was made clean. Everybody, including the child, took bath in turmeric-water. The village priest used to officiate at this ceremony.[200]

The names among the Khonds were also sometimes given after some personal peculiarity, as Lammudia, long-headed, or Khanja, one having six fingers; or after some circumstance of the birth as Ghosiah. Names were also given as compliment to the Ghasia (grass-cutter) woman who used to act as midwife. Jugi was yet another name given if some holy mendicant (Yogi) was found to have halted in the village when the child was born. A child might be named after the day of the week or month on which he was born.[201]

Marriage Customs

The practice of early marriage was not prevalent among the Khonds.[202] So premarital licence was recognised in their society and virginity was not essential for their marriage.[203] Their social traditions and usages made it possible for an indiscriminate mixing of the sexes before marriage.[204] The Khonds were very lascivious and youths frequently used to meet and make love with a partner of their own inclination.[205] There was a good deal of quiet immorality among the young men and girls.[206] In this connection T.J. Maltby, referring to the Kuttia Khonds, writes thus, "Chastity was not known, or at least practised by the Kutiya girls. They go naked till marriage and the unmarried men and girls sleep together in a house set aside for the purpose in some villages:

200. Neville A. Watts, op. cit., p. 56.
211. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 468.
202. JAS, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 18, J E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage customs of the Khonds'.
203. D.N. Majumdar, *Roces and Cultures of India*, p. 193.
204. Ibid, p. 434.
205. C Chakraberty, *The Racial History of India*, p. 298.
206. Campbell's Narrative, p. 43;
Madras Mail, 1894.

in others, by invitation of the girl, any man she may fancy visits her parent's house. When a man proposes marriage to a girl he offers to buy her a cloth and after that she is expected to remain virtuous".[207] As among the Kuttias so among the other Khonds, the village dormitory system provided an opportunity for pre marital sex experience for the young boys and girls.[208] Thus a considerable licence was allowed to the young men and maidens of the Khond tribe and sexual intercourse before marriage was tacitly recognised.[209]

Marriages were performed when the couples were adults. The girl was generally a few years older than the boy.[210] Some Khond boys of ten or twelve years of age were known to have married girls offifteen to sixteen.[211] But there was no fixed age for the marriage. Unmarried girls of twenty years and above were seen in many villages.[212] Often a girl never married at all. Yet her family did not incur any social approbrium in consequence.[213]

According to the exogamic laws of the society, the Khonds had some prohibitions in the matter of marriage such as that the contracting parties be not of the same tribe or sept.[214] Even whe they were of different tribes or septs, consanguinity up to the seventh generation was strictly prohibited. As there were no professional bards or genealogists among them, they used to resort to an ingenious device to guard against marriages within the forbidden septs. If in a neighbouring tribe where they were procuring wives some signs of relationship was discovered in the course of time, a ban was placed on further marriages. This ban would last for fourteen generations.

207. Ganjam Manual, p. 60.
208. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 26.
209. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 401.
210. S.C. Dutt, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 93.
211. M.A. Sherring, op. cit. p. 202.
212. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.
213. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 18, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.
214. R.V. Russell and R,B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 466-467;
H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. IV;
Stephen Fuches, *The Aboriginal Tribes of India*, p. 184.

After the lapse of such time, a general council of the elders of the tribes was held, where the interdict was removed, the intermarriage was once more resumed to be continued for another indefinite period.[215]

The relationship between the different septs or muthas was institutionalized either in friendliness or hostility. Those septs or muthas who were friends were linked by agnation or fictions of agnation (blood-brotherhood or adoption) and they did not inter-marry. The converse was true in case of hostility between the septs. Of course this does not mean that there were no fights within muthas, or between the muthas in alliance. There were instances of such fights. But it does mean that they had no right to fight with people from 'in-law' territory. or it was wrong to fight people who lived on one's own territory.[216]

Furthermore, there were certain restrictions for the Khonds while seeking their wives outside their own muthas. First, a man would not marry a woman of another totem. Secondly, a man would not marry a woman of another mutha, whatever her totem might be, if it was found that she belonged to the same blood stock as that of his own. Thirdly, a man might not marry a woman of another mutha, whatever her totem might be, if it was suspected that she belonged to the same stock as that of his own. Finally, a man might not marry a woman who was a perfect stranger, whose totem was not known. Of course all such prohibitions were merely suppositious, because a man would always hesitate to marry a woman from an unknown family.[217] However, marriage within the maternal grandmother's sept was allowed.[218] One Khond might take his maternal uncle's daughter as wife. In

215. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 18, J.E. Friend-Pereira's Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.
216. Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. II, 1957-58, p. 92, F.G. Bailey's 'Political change in the Kondmals.'
217. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, pp. 50-51, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
218. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.

Kalahandi one was not debarred from wedding his mother's sister.[219]

The marriages were of various kinds. Those were by mutual consent of the parties involved in the love affair, by purchase, by service, be elopement, by capture, by selection from the Dhangadi Basa or dormitory housing girls, and marriage arranged by elders but performed ofter the consent of the concerned parties.[220]

A young man often made a selection for himself with his father's consent, and after obtaining the consent of the girl, made the necessary arrangements either by himself or through his relatives.[221] At one of the Khond festivals of Baud, all the lads and lasses used to assemble for a spree, and a bachelor present there had the privilege of courting any unmarried girl whom he could induce to go with him subject to subsequent arrangement to be made by the parents of the maiden.[222*] In Bandhagarh, a village in the extreme south of the Khondmals, there was a shrine of the Goddess Bararaul where the annual worship of the Goddess used to take place in the month of Jaistha (May-June). There the Khonds in a large number attended the fair. Then the singing and dancing among groups of boys and girls took place. In course of such merry-making, match-making and the seizure and carrying off of the brides elect became common. If a pair fell in love with one another, they would go away together, leaving the elders to settle the bride price and the concerned ceremon es.[223] The love-making was also done among the Khond boys and girls during the commencement of the hot weather when parties moved for fishing or the collection of Mahua fruit and other jungle berries.[224] Thus acquaintances ending in love matches

219. R.V Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 467.
220. Stephen Fuchs, op. cit., p. 184;
A V. Thakkar, *Tribes of India*, p. 178.
221. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.
222. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 300.
* See a love song in Appendix-D, by which, a Khond lover used to woo his beloved.
223. Angul Gazetteer, pp. 132-133.
224. Madras Mail, 1894.

occurred frequently. A girl did not hesitate to pronounce her love for any man that she might select. Then she expressed her feelings by going boldly to his house and asking him to mary her. Her love was respected. She was not repulsed in any way,[225]

The bride was looked upon the Khonds as a commercial speulation, and was bought and paid for in the form of 'gontis' or bride price.[236] The purchase of the bride was usually done by the father of the bridegroom.[327] This bride-price might be given in small instalments.[228]

If a man could not afford to purchase a bride the might serve his father-in law for a number of years as fixed by him. Usually it would not exceed seven years.[229]

If a boy and girl of the Khond community, upon falling in love with each other, decided to marry, but their parents disagreed, then the young couple would leave their houses and disappear till the parents agreed and the price for the girl was paid and accepted.[230] Sometimes the lover had to pay a fine for this clandestine element.[231] At Subarnagiri, in the Ganjam Maliahs, another custom was followed. There two trysting trees, one jak (Artocarpus integrifolia) and the other mango, growing close to each other were to be found. A Khond who was unable to pay the marriage fees to the Patro (headman), used to meet his beloved under the trees at night. After disclosing his plight they retired for three days into the jungle. After their return to the village they were acknowledged as husband and wife.[232]

The practice of carrying off a bride by force was prevalent among the Khonds. When a youngman desired to enter on the connubial state, two or three members of his family, having heard of a suitable partner in the neigbbourhood,

225. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.
226. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
2?7. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 225.
228. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.
229. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal. op. cit., Vol. III, p. 467.
230. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., pp. 299-300.
231. L.N. Sahu, op. cit., p. 46.
232. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 392.

proceeded there with a desire to abduct her.[233] They lifted the girl physically and returned with her to the bridegroom's house.[234] The nuptials were celebrated in his house after which the bridegroom and the bride used to pay a visit to the family of the latter. The friendship, which had been apprently interrupted for the time being, was formally re-established.[235] This practice of 'stealing' a girl as wife was common among the Khonds as late as the first half of the twentieth century. And the Khonds' dormitory system, where unmarried boys and girls might flirt with one another made this 'stealing' much earlier.[236]

The Dhangadi Basa system was yet another device which faciliated the Khonds, marriage. The Basa was a separate hut built for the unmarried girls to sleep in. There the girls could avail themselves of all opportunities for the most intimate acquaintance before they were required to inform their parents about their desire for marriage.[237] Simultaneously it also gave the Khond boys ample scope to select their beloved from this Dangadi Basa.[238] However, the marriage resulting from this Dhangadi Basa system seemed mainly to be the concern of the boy and the girl.[239]

Marriages were very often held by the arrangements made by the parents of the bridegroom and the bride.[240] When a boy attained puberty, the head of the family—either his father, or an uncle, or an elder brother—set out to get a wife for their boy. On hearing of a likely match his kinsmen and relations were invited to witness the ceremony of Sujinara Palla or Dorom Kuta (divination) in order to determine whether the destinies of the prospective groom and bride would coincide.[241]

233. Hislop's Papers, p 11.
234. L.N. Sahu, op. cit., pp. 43-46.
235. Hislop's Papers, p. 11.
236. F.G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, p. 94.
237. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 368.
238. L.N. Sahu, op. cit., p. 46.
239. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 27.
240. R.C.S. Bell, op cit., p. 66.
241. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 18, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.

Two handfuls of rice were thrown into a new earthen pot, filled with water, one in the name of the boy and the other in that of the girl. It was then placed over a blazing fire. If the rice overflowed in seething, the choice was abandoned. If it cooked cleanly and did not bubble up, then it was believed that they would lead harmonious lives.[242] This was called Sujinara Palla.

Another custom of their marriage was Dorom Kuta. In it a grain of rice in the name of two little children, one in the name of the boy and the other in that of the girl, were dropped into an earthen vessel filled with freshly drawn water. If both the grains of rice floated on the water it was presumed that the marriage would not prove successful. If one floated while the other sank, there would be a clash in their fates; if both sank quietly to the bottom of the vessel, their union would blend well.[243]

It was after getting the propitious signs of the marriages that the boy's mother or aunt or any other near female relative on some pretext would visit the village where the prospective bride used to reside. There they would watch the character and conduct of the girl and assess whether she was likely to be a suitable wife. This was called the Seri Sura (seeing the bride) or Seri Kangari (watching the bride).[244]

If the result of the Seri Sura was satisfactory, then some of the relatives of the intended bridegroom would go to the house of the future bride for open negotiations.[245] This was called Seri Dahpa (searching for bride). The Seri Dahpa Gataru (searchers for the bride) would watch carefully for an omen (paheri roiana, lit., whether the road is bad) while they were on their way to the village.[246] If they saw a hare or a rat,

242. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.

243. JASB, Vol LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 19, J.E. Friend-Pereira 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'

244. Ibid.

245. MJLS, Vol. V, January-June 1837, p. 38, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains; from documents furnished bp J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell".

246. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 19, J.E. Friend-Pereira's Marriage Customs of the Khonds.

a patridge or a snake, a frog or a lizard or a scorpion, it meant ill fortune to the match, and they would turn back in haste. If they met a woman carrying a pitcher full of water, the omen was believed to be favourable. On the other hand, if the pitcher were empty, it would indicate evil. Similarly, a bullock, a bear or a tiger was a propitious sign; but a jackal, a deer, and a wild-dog were considered as evil omens.[247]

If the omens were found propitious, the commissioners proceeded to the bride's village and encamped in a suitable spot somewhere outside the village. At night they used to approach the house of an acquaintance, or that of any other person who was likely to agree to become the Sitenju (the go-between or marriage broker). Then they told him of the object of their visit. The Sitenju might go at once to the parents of the girl carrying this message. He might put the matter off to the next or some other night. If the girl's parents agreed to the proposal, then the Sitenju sent word to the Seri Dahpa Gataru and the latter proceeded once more to the bride's village carrying two Kupis (small earthen vessel) of Site Kalu (liquor for the go-between), and an axe or a bow and arrows.[248]

There was yet another type of negotiation found among the Khonds. A proposal for marriage was mooted by placing a brass cup and three arrows at the door of the girl's father. He would remove all those at once to show that he was reluctant in the matter. Those were again placed for the second time. If he removed them this time too, it would signify his definite refusal to the match. On the other hand, if he allowed them to remain, the bridegroom's friends would go to him and say, "We have noticed a beautiful flower in passing through your village and desire to pluck it."[249]

In some places, when the parents found that their son had fallen in love with a girl, they used to send a Pana to negotiate and ascertain the views of the girl's parents and the

247. Angul Gazetteer, p. 54.
248. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 19, J.E. Friend-Pereira's Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.
249. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 467.

amount of bride-price to be paid. If these preliminary negotiations became successful, the relatives of the boy used to go to girl's house to proceed further.[250] In some places in the Khondmals, this negotiation was usually done by old women, since it was considered that it would be unsafe for any one else to travel beyond their own territory.[251]

The proceedings of such marriage among the Khonds have been narrated by J.E. Friend-Pereira thus :

> "At the Sitenju's house an oblation was performed with a portion of the Site Kalu for the success of the enterprise. Then fortifying themselves with a little wine, the Seri Dahpa Gataru would go in company with the Sitenju to the girl's house. They were not received with any marks of welcome, nor were they invited into the house; but were kept waiting in the Raha (front courtyard) while her father held a solemn conclave with his kinsmen and friends inside the house. He put before them the proposal, and asked for their formal consent. The women were consulted and often theirs was not the least important voice in the matter. Finally, when it had been decided satisfactorily that the boy's family was not tainted with biddo or kepa (witch-craft) that the boy's mother was not bad-tempered or quarrelsome, that in fact there was no objection to the alliance from a worldly point of view, one of the most influential Kinsmen would say, "She is merchandise that has come into thy possession; thou canst not keep her all the days of thy life; sold she must therefore be; and as well to this one as to any one else."[252]

The axe was then carried into the house as a sign that the suit was being acceptable, and tobacco and fire were placed before the visitors. After an exchange of courteous formalities the Seri Dahpa Gataru stated the subject through the Sitenju.

250. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol, I, p. 401.
251. F G. Bailey, *Tribe, Caste and Nation*, p. 61.
252. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 20, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.

The girl's people at first would feign as if they did not comprehend the proposal, but afterwards the negotiations used to proceed in the following manner. The Sitenju used to say :

> "We have come to demand the Mula Seri (betrothal) of your daughter with the son of such-a-one". The girls' father would reply, indifferently, "The matter is not a trifling one; you must not be too sanguine of success; the girl is too young as yet for us to entertain any serious thoughts of her marriage". The Sitenju would rejoin, "True, she is young : that is why we want her; we must collect the Seri Mala (bride-price): and that will take sometime" The girl's people would respond, "Let it be as you will : she was born to be sold : sold she must be, and as well to you as to anyone else; we shall deem it an honour to enter into an alliance with your family; we are confident we can entrust our daughter's future happiness to you; well, since you wish it so much, we will consider the matter as settled". The Seri Dahpa Gataru would then express their deep sense of honour that was being conferred on them. The girl's people would continue, "You have made proper enquiries about us we have also asked a few questions about you; should any idle stories reach your ears and induce you to break off the engagement, remember Pronju (damages in the shape of a buffalo for a feast) is to be paid; should we give heed to any rumours, we on our part promise to pay the same to you."[253]

The remaining Kupi of Site Kalu was now brought forward and placed in the middle of the assembly. Then the leading men on either side dipped Donka (little gourd cups) into the jar ann poured out libations* to the tutelary demons. The

253. Ibid.

* See Appendix-E, in which a specimen of the invocation has been given which was used when wine was poured out in libation to the tutelary demons.

remainder of the liquor was drunk by the people with a solemn compact, that neither side would recede from its word, once it was ratified. The Seri Dahpa Gataru then pressed on the girl's father the acceptance of a part of the Seri Mala in order that the contract might be circulated among the people. Profuse liquor was then provided by the girl's father, and after a convivial night the assembly broke up in the small hours of the morning. Before their departure a Delli Katani Gati (a knotted string showing the number of days) was put into the hands of the Seri Dahpa Gataru, while a similar Gati was kept by the girl's people for their own guidance.[254]

The reckoning of the days was kept by undoing a knot in the string every morning. On the day on which the last knot was united, the Seri Dahpa Gataru, accompanied by a small party would go for the third time to the village of the bride-elect with two or three head of cattle as part payment of the Seri Mala, and a large pot of liquor. The liquor was known as Mala Ita Kalu (liquor for leaving the bride-price). The men were received with every demonstration of hospitality by the girl's father, and after an exchange of compliments and enquiries concerning the health of their respective families, all united in offering libations of liquor to the tutelary demons in the Raha or front courtyard. The liquor that was left over was drunk. Soon thereafter more liquor in a large Joba (earthen pot) was brought out by the girl's father. At night there was a feast with pig's or goat's meat and rice, which was washed down with copious draughts of wine; and the young people of both sexes passed the time in dancing to the tune of the music of the hereditary Pana musicians of the tribe.[255]

In the morning the guests were supplied with Kanka Rupa (eye-wash, a pick-me-up in the shape of double distilled liquor!) in the back courtyard: and then the men performed their morning ablutions. At noon there was a feast to which all the kinsmen were invited. At the conclusion of the feast

254. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 21, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.
255. Ibid.

a large earthen pot of Mali Tobga Kalu (liquor for the wearing of the engagement chain) was brought forth, and while the assembled people were quaffing it, the bashful and struggling bride was led up to the principal Seri Dahpa Gatanju, who put a string of beads round her neck or a bangle of brass or bell-metal on her wrist, and uttered words suitable to the occasion. The Mula Seri (formal betrothal) being now completed, the girl went round and made obeisance to each one in turn, while the elders poured out libations of wine to the tutelary demons. At night there was another feast; the wine flowing unstintedly; and the young people indulged in dances. For this feast there might be Tispa Gati (present that was fed), that was to say, one of the buffaloes brought by the Seri Dahpa Gataru was killed, and the Tladu Vebeka (liver and entrails) were kept for the feast, while the carcase was sent back to the groom's father who would give another feast to his own kinsmen in his village. Should the marriage contract be not carried out for any reason, the boy's people could not claim back the Tispa Gati that had gone to feast the people.[256]

During the next year or two the boy's people used to send from time to time in an informal manner, some cattle in part payment of the Seri Mala, the amount of which, however, had not yet been determined. The boy had not visited his fiance he had not yet been to her house either. But there was no objection to his paying court to her openly. In fact, if he expected a successful termination to his suit, he must contrive to meet her as often as he could at the numberous impromtu dances in the neighbouring villages and in the various Jatras and Hats. He was generally too shy to converse with her directly; but attaching himself to her party, he used to jest with her younger sister or aunt, and bashfully offer her a present of a brass ring, or beads, or lia (sweetmeats).[257]

During this interval between the betrothal and marriage, on a pre-arranged day, a feast of buffalo's or pig's meat and

256. Ibid. pp. 21-22
257. JASB Vol. LXXI, No. 1902, p. 22, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.

rice was given by the girl's father to his kinsmen and male friends. This was called the Mraun Boji (daughter's feat). The same evening the party went to the groom's house, where a similar feast was spread out for their entertainment by the groom's father. The night was spent in dancing and merriment. The next morning after Kanka Rupa the party used to proceed to the Gota (place where the village cattle were collected before they were taken out to graze for the day), and a selection was made of the cattle which would be considered acceptable for the Seri Mala. This being satisfactorily accomplished, there was usual libation to the tutelary demons. Aftet their morning ablutions the men returned to house. Two large Jobas of liquor were placed by the groom's father in the Gudi (third or sitting room of the house), and another libation was poured out to the manes of the ancestors. Thereafter a young cock, a little rice, and some liquor were taken to the outskir is of the village, and a sacrifice was offered to the tutelary demons of the village, such as the Village-God (Nazu Pennu), the God of the Dust heap (Turki Pennu), the God of the Dung-hill (Goberi Pennu). The day was spent in feasting, music and merriment. Enormous quantities of liquor were consumed, and the young men went round from door to door to beg for rice or other grain, which they took to the liquor shop and bartered for liquor. The women played practical jokes on the intoxicated visitors by drenching them with Kado (muddy water) and pelting them with mud and filth. The next morning, after a parting cup and a courteous send-off, the men departed with the cattle they had selected. On the pretext that the buffaloes were wild and unmanageable, the groom was persuaded to lend a hand, and thus stage by stage, it was prevailed upon him to accompany the party to their village. On reaching the village the groom had to undergo the disagreeable ordeal of saluting every one, men, women and childern present there. But two of his intimate friends who had followed him used to help him during this trying performance. This visit to the bride's house was known as the Seri Mala Tuhpa (the leaving of the bride-price). The groom remained for some days feasting

and enjoying the hospitality of his future wife's relations. And evey night there were the usual music and dancing, and the drinking of wine. Before his return home, the groom received a present of a silver bangle and a piece of cloth from his father-in-law elect; and similar marks of favours were bestowed on his two companions. A year or two after betrothal, the marriage took place.[258]

Of course all those customs and ceremonies of the Khond marriage as narrated by J.E. Friend-Pereira were not primitive. These were found mostly towards the close of the nineteenth century. However his account amply indicates that the Khonds had been Hinduizing their customs.

In this connection a much older account furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell may be cited. They have stated that if the marriage proposal of the bridegroom's relatives became agreeable to the bride's parents, the bride's side gave a she buffalo to the persons who had come to make the demand. When they came back home, they killed this animal, slightly roasted it, and ate it. The following day the people of the intended bride's family went to see the proposed bridegroom. On this occasion the relatives of the latter showed to the visitors everything contained in their dwelling, or possession. If they found anything of value, whether a cow, or something else which caught their fancy, they were promised that it would be given to them, though it was not permissible then to receive and take it away. They feasted on ardent spirits and meat, and then departed the next day. Then the relatives of the man, called together a few other people; and all of them proceeded, carrying the cow, and other things to be given as desired. The people of the woman's family killed a number of buffaloes. On half the meat the whole party feasted together, while the other half was carried back by the visitors. They gave it to their relatives in a feast. At another time, the man's relatives proceeded to the bride's house, and gave them a formal invitation. On the day of the visit of the bride's relatives the people of the groom's house would kill buffaloes, eating one half

258. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

together, and giving the other half along with rice to the visitors, who carried the same back to feast their relations.[259] Subsequently, both the parties met to fix the day for the marriage.

Marriages amongst the Khonds were usually celebrated during the hunting season, commencing from April when they burnt the grass and underwood of the jungle and drove the wild beasts from the area.[260] A commission usually was sent to the giril's parents in order to fix a day for the Tapa Seri (marriage). The marriage must not take place during the waxing or waning lunation of the month in which the groom or bride was born, nor during the period the girl was rendered unclean by the occurrence of what was peculiar to her sex. However the month for the marriage was decided first and then the day was fixed after further mutual arrangements. The commissioners were then entertained with hospitality and sent off the next morning with a Delhi Katani Gati. Every morning a knot on the string was united, and on last the day a great feast was given by the youth's father to his own people. The same evening, they used to proceed to the bride's house.[261]

H.H. Risley has given an account of the marriage of the Khonds which is as follows

> "On the day before the wedding the bridegroom and his male relations go in procession to the bride's house, where they spend that evening and the next morning in feasting. The essential and binding portion of the marriage ceremony, in which the bride's father officiates as priest, is said to consist of taking the right hands of the couple and spitting on the palm of each. The effect of this in the

259. MJLS, Vol. V, January-June 1837, p. 38, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites, of the Khoonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains, from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'.

260. Campbell's Narrative, p. 43;
Ganjam Manual, p. 57.

261. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, pp. 23-24, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.

case of the bride is to remove her from her original sept, and to preclude her from re-entering her father's house. The married couple are carried off on the backs of the bridegroom's friends to his house, where the marriage is consummated. On the next day a feast is made, and the girl sits on a couch surrounded by the women of the village and pretends to weep. After this has gone on for some time she and her husband are seized by his friends and carried about in triumph. A short dance follows, and both are replaced on the couch. Then the bride's male relations take hold of the bride and run away with her, hotly pursued by the girls of the village who pummel the men soundly, recapture the bride, and bring her back to her husband. After this the bride's relations return to their own village. On the day after the marriage the bride and bridegroom taking with them an oldman to officiate as priest, go a little way outside the village and worship Dharma Pennu with offerings of fowls, eggs, rice and strong drink in order to secure a happy life and male offspring."[262]

Yet an older account furnished by Stevenson and Maxwell gives a different manner of marriage celebration. Similar description has also been given by other scholars of later times like Maltby, Thurston, Russell and Hiralal.

Along with the fixation of the date of marriage by both the parties (bride and bridegroom) they fixed the precise place where both the parties would meet.[263] On the appointed day the pieces of broom in the bride's ears were removed and replaced by brass rings.[264] She was then covered with a red blanket and carried astride on her uncle's back towards the husband's village, accompanied by the young women of her own

262. H.H. Risely, *The Tribes and Casts of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 401-402.
263. MJLS, Vol. V, January—June 1837, p. 38, W. Taylor's 'On the Language Manner, and Rites of the Khoonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains, from [documents,] furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'.
264. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 388.

village.[265] Music accompanied by beating of drums was played in front of the party.[266] In the rear of the procession brass playthings such as horse were carried for the bridegroom, and clothes and brass pins as presents for the bridegroom on behalf of the bride's father.[267] Furthermore, all other needful household stuff, or utensils also were carried with the bride to her husband's house.[268] On the road at the village boundary the procession was received by the bridegroom, and the youngmen of his village who had wrapped themselves in blankets and clothes.[269] Each was armed with a bundle of long thin bamboo sticks.[270] The people of the female convoy would at once call out to others to come and fetch the bride; and then a mock fight would begin.[271] The young women of the bride's village attacked the bridegroom's party with sticks, stones and clods of earth, which the youngmen would ward off with the bamboo sticks.[272] The maidens of the bride's party used to shout at the bridegroom with jokes and call him thief and ravisher.[273] In this manner a running fight continued until the village of the bridegroom was reached when the stone-throwing invariably ceased and the bridegroom's uncle snatched up the bride and carried her off to husband's house.[274] The fighting was of course no child's play. Some-

265. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
266. R. C S. Bell, op. cit , p. 66
267. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 338.
268. MJLS, Vol. V. January-June 1837, p. 38, W Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites of the Khoonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'.
269. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
270. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 288.
271. MJLS, Vol V, January-June 1837, p. 38, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites of the Khoonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains; from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W G. Maxwell.
272. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
273 C. Chakrabety, op. cit., p. 298.
274 E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 388.

times men were seriously injured.[275*]

John Campbell, an eye-witness of such a fight has given a graphic description which is as follows :

> "On one occasion, whilst taking an evening ride, I heard loud cries proceeding from a village close at hand. Fearing some serious quarrel, I rode to the spot, and there I saw a man bearing away upon his back something enveloped in an ample covering of scarlet cloth; he was surrounded by twenty or thirty young fellows, and by them protected from the desperate attacks made on him by a party of young women. On seeking an explanation of this novel scene, I was told that the man had just been married, and his precious burthen was his blooming bride, whom he was conveying to his own village. Then the tables were turned, the bride was fairly won, and off her young friends scampered, screaming and laughing, but not relaxing their speed until they reached their own village."[276]

Macpherson in his report of 1842 has given a similar account of such a mock fight.

However this type of conflict exhibits, in its rude original form, a custom which the Hindu conquerors of India admitted as one of their eight recognised forms of marriage. In their law-books it still bears the name of Rakshasa.[277]

The whole party, on reaching the bridegroom's house, was entertained by the bridegroom as lavishly as his means would permit.[278] On the day after the bride's arrival, a buffalo and a pig were slaughtered and eaten, and. upon the bride's attendants returning home on the evening of the second day, a male and a female buffalo, or if that was not possible, then some less valuable presents were given to them.[279] On the third day, all

275. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
* It is recorded that an European Magistrate once mistook a Khond marriage for a riot, but, on enquiry, discovered his mistake (E. Thruston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 391).
276. Campbell's Narrative, p. 44.
277. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 226.
278. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 388-389.
279. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.

the Khonds of the village had a grand dance or Tamasha (festivity), and on the fourth day another grand assembly was held at the house of the bridegroom.[280] The bride and bridegroom were then made to sit down on a cot, and the bridegroom's brother, pointing upwards to the roof of the house, used to say "As long as this girl stays with us, may her children be as men and tigers; but if she goes astray, may her children be as snakes and monkeys, and die and be destroyed!"[281]

However, the details of the ceremony of Khonds' marriage appear to have varied from place to place.

J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell have given the following description of the marriage rituals

> "Subsequently placing her (bride) on a stool, they (bridegroom's relatives) pour water over her head in bathing. Beneath this stool, the younger sisters or younger brothers of the bridegroom are concealed; and the water flows down over them. They take occasion during the bathing, to snatch off the ring, from the bridegroom's finger. On her asking to receive back her ring, they strip off from on of themselves some valuable ornament, and it to her, retaining the ring. Soon after, their hierophant (Jani) comes bringing with him a cord, a turmeric cord, also a nut of the tree Mesua Ferrea, which he strings upon the cord, and taking these things together with the bride and bridegroom only, he goes into the woods, where a hut, made only of sticks has been before prepared in which being seated, the Jani wishes them both health and domestic prosperity, and ties the cords on the neck of each one. Afterwards they return to the house. Hogs and other animals are killed, and liquors brought, when they prepare baji (supposed from the use of the word in another place to be a sort of olio, or mixed dish) and all partake of it. From this day forward, the parties are considered to be man and wife.

280. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 389.
281. Ganjam Manual, p. 57.

They beat on drums; they give to the Jani rice, flesh, and liquor, and send him away."[282]

According to another account, the bride as soon as she entered the bridegroom's house, wore two enormous bracelets, or rather handcuffs of brass, each weighing from twenty to thirty pounds, attached to each wrist. The unfortunate girl had to sit with her two wrists resting on her shoulders, so as to support these enormous weights. She was to be prevented from running away to her old home. On the third day the bangles were removed, as it was supposed that by then the girl had become reconciled to her fate. These marriage bangles were made on the hills, and were curiously carved in fluted and zigzag lines, and kept as heir looms in the family, to be used at the next marriage in the house.[283]

J.E. Friend-Pereira mentions another marriage custom, which used to take place in the bride's village. He writes thus

"When the morning comes for the newly wedded couple to depart (from the bride's house) to their home... ...The girl is made to stand on a jomba (block of wood used as a stool) facing her father's house, and her husband taken his place by her side, but a little behind her, on a jueli (yoke).* The women bring paddy in a kula (winnowing-fan) and scatter it on the young couple's feet. The girl's mother then comes forward with a sokeni (leaf-cup) of turmeric and rice, and pours it out on the young people's heads. All now press forward and salute or kiss the newly wedded pair. An old woman suddenly rushes forward, seizes the bride, flings her on her back, and carries her off. A man

282. MJLS, Vol. V, January-June, 1837, p. 38, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains; from documents furnished by J A R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'

283. E Thurston, op, cit., Vol. III, p. 390

* This ceremony was symbolical of the respective occupations of a husband and wife : the husband was to till the fields, and the wife to sit at home and cook the food.

comes to the front similarly, catches the groom, and places him astride on his shoulder. The human horses neigh and prance about like the live quadruped, and finally rush away to the outskirts of the village. This is a signal for the bride's girl friends to chase the couple and pelt them with clods of earth, stones, mud, cow-dung, and rice. When the mock assault is at an end, the older people come up, and all accompany the bridal pair to the groom's village".[284]

Thus after the marriage, the bride's relations ran away with her, while the village girls recaptured her and restored her to her husband. It was a common practice among the Khonds.[285]

There was yet another form of marriage custom. At the marriage the bride and bridegroom used to come out, each sitting on the shoulders of one of their relatives. The bridegroom was to pull the bride to his side, when a piece of cloth was thrown over them, and they were tied together with a string of new yarn wrapped round them seven times. A cock was sacrificed, and the cheeks of the couple were singed with burnt bread. They passed the night in a Veranda. Next day they were taken to a tank, the bridegroom being armed with a bow and arrows. He shot one through each of seven cowdung cakes, the bride after each shot washing his forehead and giving him a green twig for a tooth-brush and some sweets. This was symbolical of their future course of life While the husband would procure food by hunting, the wife would wait on him and prepare his food.[286]

However, after the marriage ceremony was over, the bride and bridegroom might live separately for four to ten days until they were forced by friends on both the sides to meet

284. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, pp. 24-25, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.
285. Wm Crooke, *The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills* (London. 1899), p. 239.
286. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 467-468.

and sleep together.[287] Among the Kutting Khonds, it was a custom that periodically, a young wife might visit her husband but did not live with him until she became pregnant.[288]

One of the most important features of the Khond marriage was bride-price. A bride must be purchased.[289] So a bride-price called 'gonti' was always demanded and paid.[290] A gonti included such items as a buffalo, a pig, or a brass pot. A hundred gontis might consist of ten bullocks, ten buffaloes, ten sacks of corns, ten sets of brass, twenty sheep, ten pigs and thirty fowls.[291] The usual price, however, paid by the bride-groom's father for the bride, was twenty or thirty gontis.[292] Of course towards the end of the nineteenth century this was reduced in some lacalities to two or three animals and money in lieu of such items. In certain cases cattle were entirely dispensed with and grains given in lieu of the former.[293] However the amount of this gonti varied with the demands of the bride's father. The payment might be spread over two or three years.[294] As the bride-price among the Khonds was very high, parents were found to have often exchanged their sons and daughters.[295]

At the same time the bride's father was required to furnish her with a complete set of ornaments and household utensils in shape of dowry, the cost of which did not fall for short of the bride-money.[296] Formerly one hundred things were given to the bride, but later on it was reduced to a great extent owing to economic hardship.[297]

287. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 26, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds';
L N. Sahu, op. cit., 50.
288. Neville A. Watts, op, cit., p. 61.
289. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 91
290. Angul Gazetteer, p. 56.
291. Ganjam Manual, p. 56.
292. E. Thurston, op, cit., Vol. III, p. 388.
293. R.V Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 467.
294. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 401.
295. Angul Gazetteer, p. 53.
226. Ibid. p. 56.
297. L N. Sahu, op. cit., p. 46,

Generally in good circumstance the bride's dowry consisted of the following : one or two gold nose-rings, a number of silver rings worn along the auricle of the ear, a pair of gold earrings for the lobes of the ear, some brass or bell metal bangles for the arm, some silver hair pins, or ornaments for the hair, some silver necklace, some brass or bell-metal toe-rings that jingle on walking and rings for the first toe, a pair of anklets of brass or bell-metal and armlets of the same material, beads for the neck, a loin-cloth, a cloth with red or coloured bands at either end, two pieces of cloth with check designs, some brass water-pots and some brass cups. Similarly the presents for the bridegroom consisted of a pair of gold earrings, a strings of gold beads, a pair of silver bangles for the wrist, a sword, a bow and a quiverful of arrows, a drum, a battle-axe, a narrow loin cloth some thirty cubits long, a red blanket, and head-dress of egret's feathers.[298]

A Khond man would not take a Pana wife though occasionally Pana men had taken Khond women. That was probably through elopment in the first instance, followed later by partial recognition from the Khond family.[299] A Gond man who would take a Khond girl as wife could become a Khond by giving a feast.[300]

Thus with all its peculiarities, marriage played an important role in the life of the Khond. His marriage was purely exogamic. It was celebrated with special ceremonies and solemnities. The Khond marriages were of several kinds, but in each case the entire village used to take part in its merriment and joy. The Khonds looked upon the bride as a commercial speculation and purchased her by paying 'gontis' or bride-price. The marriage ceremony was performed with elaborate rituals. And the Khonds were very particular in observing each and every ritual. However, with the march of times, the primitive customs and ceremonies regarding the

298. JASB, Vol. LXXI, No. 1, 1902, p. 25, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage Customs of the Khonds'.
299. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 20.
300. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 472.

Khond-marriage were gradually assimilated with the Hindu customs.

Widow-marriage

Remarriage of widows was permitted in Khond society. A widow might marry a younger brother or any other younger relation of her deceased husband; but she often preferred to remain unmarried and devote her life to the care of her children.[301] She was also allowed to marry outside the family of her deceased husband, but in that case she had to give up all her childern to the care of their relatives.[302] In the marriage of a widow no particular ceremonies were performed, as was done when she was taken to her first husband's house. However the groom used to pay a small bride-money to her father.[303]

But the Khonds in some places gradually came under the influence of Hindu practices. The Jatapu, a branch of the Khond tribe, used to discourage widow marriage by way of emphasizing the distinction between themselves and their less civilized brethren.[304] Among the Khonds of Nayagarh, a widow would not remarry if she had a son.[305]

Divorce

Tribal society recognized the chances of friction between man and wife in domestic life and also provided for maladjustment. Divorce and mutual separation were freely allowed and the grounds were incompetence, cruelty, desertion and adultery.[306] Throughout tribal India divorce was easy and generally the wife had the same rights as her husband.[307] And such was the case among the Khonds.

301. Angul Gazetteer, p. 56.
302. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 401.
303. Angul Gazetteer, p. 56.
304. Madras Census Report, 1901, Vol, I, p. 157;
Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Reprint, London, 1915), p. 94.
305. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 264.
306. D.N. Majumdar, op. cit., p. 191.
307. Verrier Elwin, *The Kingdom of the Young* (Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 211.

The Khond women had every right to quit their husbands at pleasure; and this right was availed of by some as many as eight to ten times.[308] The right to divorce was mutual and was exercised on slight grounds.[309] The ceremony performed to effect a separation consisted of splitting or breaking a straw into two pieces. This ceremony was not followed often. It was common for a wife to go back to her father's house by mutual consent or at the bidding of her husband.[310] When this took place, her father had to return the whole of the gifts or bride-money, which the bridegroom had paid for his wife when the marriage was originally arranged.[311]

Polyandry and Polygamy

Polyandry was unknown among the Khonds.[312] Polygamy as a practice was also unknown. But if a woman proved herself barren, the husband might take a second wife; but in such cases the two wives would stay in separate houses enjoying equal privileges,[313] Further, the consent of the father of the first wife must also be obtained, and he must be given a feast in token of his daugther's honour having been maintained. Barrenness was attributed to the disfavour of the Gods. So to appease them costly sacrifices were made at annual festivals.[314]

Adultery

A high standard of conjugal fidelity was observed among the Khonds.[315] Adultery was said to be rare.[316] It was looked upon with horror, the popular belief being that it

308, S.C. Dutt, op. cit., p. 94.
309. A.V. Thakkar, op. cit., p, 181.
310. Angul Gazetteer, p. 56.
311. Madras Mail, 1894;
L.S S.S.O 'Malley, *India's Social Heritage*, p. 94.
312. Angul Gazetteer, p. 57.
313. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol, I, p. 402.
314. Angul Gazetteer, p. 57.
315. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 402.
316. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 227.

would excite the anger of the Earth-Goddess, who would bring about a season of drought and ruin to the whole village. Inspite of this, if such a crime was committed, it had to be expiated by the sacrifice of a pig to the Goddess and the breaking of a large pot of water at the house of the offender. If this was followed by a shower of rain, it was considered to be a sign of the removal of the curse.[317] The adulterer, if detected, had to atone for his fault by paying an indemnity to the husband of the molested woman. Until this had been done, the woman was excluded from social intercourse with her neighbours.[318] Sometimes the Khond adulterer escaped from the payment of the buffalo, which was slaughtered for the entertainment of the village. In that case also the husband retained his wife.[319] However the girl usually was not punished for adultery and it was always the man who was punished.[320] If a Pana committed adultery with a Khond married woman, he had to pay a Poronja, or a buffalo as penalty to the husband who retained his wife, in addition to a goat, a pig, a basket of paddy, a rupee, and a cavady (shoulder-pole) load of pots.[321]

Abduction

The Khonds regarded the abduction of a woman by a man of another tribe as a common insult to them all. So unless reparation was made to the injured husband a sort of war was declared against the tribe of the abducting party, and all who were more or less distantly connected with the disputants were drawn into the quarrel.[322]

Funeral Ceremony

Death was not the direct responsibility of Tana of Bura Pennu, said the Khonds. It might be caused through the

317. Angul Gazetteer, p. 55.
318 H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 601.
319 Madras Mail, 1894.
320. L.N. Sahu, op. cit, p. 51.
321. Madras Mail, 1894.
322. Campbell's Narrative, p. 43.

activities of Jomereri Pennu, the evil Bironga spirits, or through man's sorcery or witchcraft.[323]

Dead bodies were usually burnt.[324] There were some funeral customs. The following account is given by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell about such customs in Ghumsar:

"On the life ceasing, the tie a sheep to the foot of the corpse, they carry the clothes, brass eating-dish, brass drinking-vessel, ornaments, grain in store, and the said sheep, all together to the {burning-ground. Having burnt the body, and gone round about the pile, they leave all those things there, and beating drums return home. Those garments the Pano take away. They procure liquor, and drink it. On the next day, they kill a she-buffalo, and get together a great quantity of liquor. The whole of the tribe (near ,and distant relations) being assembled, they make baji. and eat they beat the drum (or drums). If the deceased were of any consequence, dancers come and dance to the sound of their drums; to whom some animals are given, which they take and go away. Subsequently on the twelfth-day they carry a hog to the spot where the body was burnt; and after perambulating the site of the pyre, return to their homes, where they kill the hog in the place set apart for their household gods; and procuring liquor they make baji; the members of the tribe eating together."[325]

T.J. Maltby has given a somewhat different account of the funeral rites in the manual of Ganjam District

"Immediately after the death, a cloth is wrapped round the corpse, but no clothes or valuables are removed. A

323. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 156.
324. W.W Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 227; H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal* Vol. I, p. 407.
325. MJLS, Vol. V. January-June 1837, p. 40, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners and Rites of the Khonds or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains, from daucuments furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W. G. Maxwell'.

portion of paddy and all the cooking untensils of the deceased are given to the village Sittra (The Sittras manufacture the brass rings and bangles worn by the Khonds) and the body is then burnt. On the following day, a little rice is cooked, put on a dish, and laid on the spot where the corpse was burnt. An incarnation is then pronounced, requesting the spirit of the deceased person to eat the rice and enjoy itself, and not to change itself into a devil or tiger, and come bothering the survivors in the village. Three days after death, the 'Madda' or ceremony is performed. An effigy of the deceased is prepared of straw, which is struck up in front or on the roof of the house, and the relations and friends assemble, lament, and eat at the expense of the people of the deceased's house. Each person brings a present of some kind or other, and on his departure on the next day, receives something of slightly greater value. The death of a man in a village requires a purification, which is made by the sacrifice of a buffalo on the seventh day after his death.''[326]

Thus the Khonds knew that only the physical body used to die. The soul went out from it. Naturally the first obligation of the family was to provide at that moment a symbolic handful of rice and some money for the spirit's journey.[327]

It is recorded by F. Fawcett that once after death, a propitiatory sacrifice of animals belonging to the deceased was to be made to the Pidari Pitta (ancestor) for the sake of the deceased's spirit. Then some boiled rice and a small fowl were taken to the buring place. The fowl was split down the breast, and placed on the spot; it was afterwards eaten, and the soul was invoked to enter into a new-born child.[328]

326. Ganjam Manual, pp. 57-58.
327. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 159.
328. Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay, Vol. II, p. 249.

In connection with customs observed in the event of death, Jayaram Moodaliar writes thus

"If a woman's husband dies, she removes the beads from her neck, the metal finger rings, ankle and wrist ornaments, and the ornament worn in the lobe of one ear, that worn in the lobe of the other ear being retained. These are thrown on the chest of the corpse, before it is cremated. The widow does not remove the ornaments worn in the helices of the ears, and in the alae and septum of the nose. When a Khond dies, his body is cremated. The people in the house of the deceased are not allowed to cook their food on that or the next day, but are fed by their relations and friends in the village. On the day after death, rice and a fowl are cooked separately, but in big leaf cups, and placed on the spot where the corpse was burnt. The spirit of the deceased is invited to eat the meal, and asked not to do them any harm. On the third day, the relations bathe and smear their heads with clay. An effigy of the deceased is made, and stuck up on the roof of the house. The practice of making an image of the deceased obtains among the Goomsur Khonds, but in some other places, it is considered inauspicious. On the seventh day, a purification ceremony is gone through, and a buffalo killed, with which, and the indispensable liquor, the guests are entertained. At a village two miles from Baliguda, a boy, about sixteen years old, died. His gold ear-rings and silver bracelets were not removed, but burnt. His clothes were thrown on a pyre. Ragi and other grains, paddy, etc. were placed near the funeral pyre, but not in the fire. The food-stuffs, and buffalo, were divided among the Haddis, who are the servants of the headman (Patro) of the muttah. They also took the remains of the jewels, recovered from the ashes after cremation".[329]

If a man died of tiger bite, the Khonds threw out of doors all the (preserved) flesh belonging to him. All the people of

329. Quoted in E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 396-397.

the village including children had to quit their homes also. Then the Jani came with two rods of the Tummeca tree (Acacia arabica), planted these in the earth; and then bringing one rod of the Conda-tamara tree (Silax macrophylla), he placed it transversely across the other two. The Jani, chanting incantations, sprinkled water on all the villagers. Then the entire mass returned to their respective houses wit hout looking back[330] That was not all. The purification was to be made by the sacrifice of a pig.[331] The heads of the decapitated pig was placed in a stream, and as it floated down, it passed between the legs of the villages. If it touched the legs of any of them, it would be concluded that he would be killed by a tiger.[332]

When a patriarch died, his bereaved people spread over the area of his jurisdiction with gongs and drums, and summoned all villagers and tribal heads. They placed the body on a lofty timber pile with a flagstaff and banner rising from the midst. The clothes, arms, and household vessels of the dead patriarch were laid on a rice bag near the structure. The chief mourner with averted face applied the torch, and all the kinsmen gyrated in a funeral dance around the pyre until the flagstaff was wholly burnt and fell to the ground. Then they parcelled out among the sept patriarchs the dead man's goods which were kept on the rice bags. It was during the next nine days that the members of his family used to meet together at intervals and renewed their solemn dance around the ashes.[333] The funeral dance itself was simple in the extreme. When the right spot was reached, old men and young began gyrating round and round in a large circle, making a perfect human merry-go-round.[334] On the tenth day the whole tribe with its

330. MJLS, Vol V, January-June 1837, p. 40, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners and Rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati of the Goomsoor Mountains from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'.
331. Ganjam Manual, p. 58.
332. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 395.
333. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 227.
334. Madras Mail, 1896.

families and septs assembled, and chose a new patriarch, who was generally the eldest son of the deceased chief.[335]

Though the dead bodies were usually burnt, those of the persons dying of cholera or smallpox and a body under a month were buried.[336] Similarly, the dead bodies of the pregnant women or those who died in child-birth were buried, mostly across a stream or at a place far away from the village.[337] The Khonds also believed that the souls of women dying during pregnancy or in and soon after the child-birth would be evil spirits ever striving to injure their surviving relations.[338] The relations were dreaded, so much so that pieces of iron were driven into the flash near the knee-joint, and a perforated spoon of the same material was buried in the breast to prevent the evil spirit coming out of its abode.[339]

Customs of admitting others to Khond Community

The Khonds used to admit the members of the other stocks into their tribe except Panas and Domnas and Haris.[340] They admitted a male orphan child of any superior caste, including Binjhwars and Gonds. A virgin of any age of one of these castes could also be admitted.[341] The price paid for this admission varied in different parts of the Khond country, but was invariably accompanied by paying buffaloes and strong drink. A great feast was made and then only the new member was formally inducted into the tribe.[342]

Festivals and Sacrifices

The Khond tribes had three principal festivals, namely

335. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 301.
336. Angul Gazetteer, p. 57.
R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 67.
337. Angul Gazetteer, p. 57.
Krishan Sharma, *The Konds of Orissa*, p. 20.
338. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit,, Vol. III, p. 470.
339. Angul Gazetteer, p. 58.
340. H.H. Risely, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 398.
341 R.V. Russel and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 472.
342. H.H. Riseley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p, 398.

Semi Jatra, the Mahul Jatra and the Chawal Dhuba Jatra. The Semi Jatra was held on the tenth day of the waning moon of Aghan (November) when the new Semi or country beans were roasted. On that day a goat or fowl was sacrificed and some milk or water was offered to the Earth Goddess. From this day the tribe commenced eating the new crop of beans. Similarly, the Mahul Jatra was held on the tenth of the waning moon of Chait (March), and until this date a Khond might eat boiled Mahua flowers, but not roasted ones. The principal festival was the Dasahara or Chawal Dhuba (boiled rice) which was observed on the tenth day of the waning moon of Kunwar (September). It marked the beginning of the rice-harvest of the Khonds. The new rice being washed and boiled was offered to the Earth Goddess with the same procedure as in the case of the Semi Jatra. Until this date the Khond might not clean the new rice by washing it before boiling.[343]

Sacrifice was the very foundation of the religion of the tribal people.[344] Offering a definition of sacrifice, E.O. James writes, "In its broader interpretation 'Sacrifice' involves the destruction of a victim for the purposes of maintaining or restoring a right relationship of man to the sacred order It may effect a bond of union with the divinity to whom it is offered, or constitute a peculiar expiation and propitiation to cover, wipe out, neutralize or carry away evil and guilt contracted wittingly or unwittingly".[345] Its prevalence can be traced back to remote antiquity. Of course initially it was a simple 'gift' in kind offered to propitiate angry and malevolent Gods and spirits.[346] Subsequently the people believed that the offering of blood as sacrifice would enable them to get the bounteous grace of the deities. Blood was selected to be sacrificed as it

343 R V Russel and R B. Hira Lal, op cit., Vol. III, pp. 472-473.

344. OHRJ, Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 3-4, p. 133, N.R. Patnaik's 'Studies in Superstit ous beliefs, Myths, Magic, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Sacrifice of the 19th Century Orissa'.

345. E.O. James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* (Reprint, London, 1962), p. 13.

346. Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 375.

meant the very life.[347]

The Khonds believed in offering human sacrifice called Meriah for propitiating the deity.[348*] That was because the Khond deities were believed to have lived on the flavours and essences drawn from the offerings of their votaries, or from animals or grain which they caused to die or disappear.[349] After the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice by the British Government, the Khonds accepted the buffalo as a substitute of the human being. The buffalo sacrifices were still accompanied by the old barbarities and the festival was still called Meriah festival.[350] It was celebrated between March and May.[351] The great buffalo sacrifice (Kedu laka) was made as an offering to the Earth-Goddess. This they did to avoid disasters, to ensure the fertility of the soil, and to secure the general prosperity of the people. Special objects, such as the reclamation of forest land, the establishment of a new village, and, sometimes, the success of some private or domestic business, demanded the observation of this rite. The Khonds considered it as one of national importance and an essential and sacred duty. It was held either by individuals or conjointly by families or septs. The surrounding tribes men were always invited to settle any claims they might have before the victim was driven over the land where the sacrifice was to be performed.[352]

T.J. Maltby, in connection with the Buffalo sacrifice of Ganjam Maliahs, thus writes

> "In the Balliguda taluk and down to Baminigam, the buffalo intended for sacrifice in place of the human being is, by pouring rice and water, declared sacred for a year

347. E.O. James, *Comparative Religion* (Reprint, London, 1961), pp. 229-230.
348. Campbell's Narrative, p. 39.
* Meriah Sacrifice, in detail has been discussed in a separate chapter.
349. Edward B. Tylor, op. cit. Vol II, p. 388.
350. S Pearce Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills* p. 20.
Neville A Watts, op, cit., p. 66.
351. Krishan Sharma, op. cit., p. 20.
352. Angul Gazetteer, p. 61.

previous, and is permitted to roam at will throughout the country, destroying the crops and eating the stored grain or anything else that it can get at. In the Kuttiya country and south of Bamanigam, the buffalo is allowed none of these privileges but has to work at the plough, like any other buffalo, until three days before the sacrifice. Before the eventful day arrives each night and generally throughout the day, the old men and women, the young men and girls all join together and dance and sing the praises of their god, hoping thus to propitiate the deity and obtain for themselves all the earthly blessings they have any idea of ; sometimes a toy cock is made up and struck on a pole, round which the people dance. On the day of the sacrifice the buffalo is paraded three times round the village, being severely beaten by every one whilst so led, after which it is taken to a place outside the village where a post has been firmly planted in the ground. A live cock is tied up, and puja having been made over some rice, it is placed in front of the bird. If the cock eats the rice there is a great rejoicing, for it is considered that the so doing is equivalent to the deity being actually present in the cock, and it is the deity that eats the rice, and not the cock. The buffalo is then securely fastened to the post already alluded to, after which the chief Pujari (Jani or Priest) places his tangi or battle-axe seven times on the animal's neck, finally giving it a tremendous blow. This is the signal, upon which the Pujaris (worshippers) of every village engaged in the sacrifice, and who are all standing ready with knives in their hands rush in at the buffalo slicing off pieces of flesh from it, whenever they may get the chance. Sometimes, but seldom, the heavy blow given by the chief Pujari kills the buffalo, but more frequently it lies groaning in a hideous manner for some five or six minutes. Each Pujari or worshipper takes the bit of flesh that he has managed to secure and some blood, and darts off to his village as fast as he can go. When he arrives there he at once buries it in the sacred grove and sprinkles the blood to the four quarters. The following day all return to the

village where the sacrifice has taken place to eat the remainder of the flesh, and to get very drunk of toddy. The intention of the sacrifice is that all people may enjoy good health, that the hunting season may be a successful one, and that the crops may be good".[353*]

There is yet another sacrifice of the Khonds called the cow-shed sacrifice. An a ccount of such a sacrifice given by F. Fawcett is as follows :

"A special liquor is brewed from grain for the ceremony on the first day of which there is a general fast, a pig is bought by general subscription, and dragged to the place where it is to be sacrificed by a rope 'through its belly'. The pig is stoned to death, but ere it dies, each Khond cuts off some of the hair and a little piece of the ear, which are treasured. The meat is divided among them, and cooked with rice. The priest goes from house to house, and performs the ceremony of the cow-shed. The ropes of the cattle (chiefly buffaloes) which are out grazing are tied to the central point in the cow-shed, and the other ends are laid on the ground across the shed. These ropes are the visible objects, to which sacrifice is made. The head of a chicken is buried near the ends tied to the post, and near it are ranged leaves, on which are placed rice, flesh of a pig, and a bit of its ear. A little in front of these is buried a rotten egg. The chicken, whose head is buried, is boiled, and eaten by children who have not yet donned a cloth. The Khond puts the rice, piece of the ear, and hair of the pig, under the roof. ' In the evening the cattle come home, and are tied by the ropes used in the ceremony. Then the women break their fast they must eat then. Drinking and dancing occupy the two following days, during which no manure is removed from the cow-shed. On the third day, the Khonds came out with a lump of it in the hand, and

353. Oanjam Manual, pp. 69-70.

* For a more detailed account of a buffalo sacrifice performed in 1894, see Appendix-F.

throw it in one place, forming a heap, on which the priest pours liquor and rice."[354]

Superstitious Beliefs—Myths, Magic, Sorcery and Witchcraft

The origin of the superstitious beliefs of the tribal people can be traced to one factor, the fear of the environment. Man was afraid when he felt insecure, helpless and powerless. And for his very existence he had to struggle against the physical and economic environment.[355] The primitive man had a tendency to look at Nature as animated, having the power of affecting man for better or worse, usually for the worse.[356] Hence there emerged among the early people like the Khonds all such beliefs. In this context A.J. Balfour opines that these ideas were of latter development and the primitive man knew nothing of 'invariable sequences' or 'universal causation'.[357]

To start with, the society of the Khonds abounded in various myths. Myth, as Edward B. Tylor suggests, was primitive ethnology expressed in poetic form.[358] It can be considered as primitive philosophy or metaphysical thought.[359] Tracing the origin of myth, Alfred C. Lyall writes that no people ever observed a custom because a mythical being was said to have acted in a certain way. But, on the contrary, all people have invented myths to explain why they observed ceratain custom.[360] The tribal people in general and the Khonds in particular had many queer myths,* and their imaginations were fed with various fantasies. That was because of their living in rugged mountains and dark forests.[361] As such,

354. Journal of Anthropological Society, Bombay, Vol II, 1890.
355. Paul Radin, *Primitive Religion* (New York, 1957), p. 23.
356. Aloo J. Dastur, *Man and His Environment*, p. 10.
356. A.J. Balfour, *The Foundation of Belief* (London, 1895), p. 22.
358. E.B. Tylor, op. cit , pp. 317, 413.
359. American Anthropologist, Vol. LII, 1950, p. 17, David Bidney's 'The Concept of Myth and problem of Psychocultural Evolution'.
360. Alfred, C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies* (Reprint, New Delhi, 1976), Vol. II, p. 208.
361. OHRJ, Vol. XXXIII, Nos, 3-4, pp. 129 130, N.R. Patnaik's 'Studies in Superstitious Beliefs, Myths, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Sacrifice of the 19th Century Orissa'.

they had to depend, for their very living, mostly on the power of nature and the Supreme Being. When they faced natural calamities and the like, they considered these natural phenomena to be the menifestations of spirits, representing the essentials of life such as sunshine, rain and food crops.[362] So a myth developed among the Khonds to ask for rain, good crops and good health in their prayer.[363] They further believed in a myth that the offering of human sacrifice would bring rain. And the tears rolling down the victim's eyes and the blood gushing forth from his wound would bring it about.[364] In another myth of the Khonds, Bura Pennu was regarded as a Creator, who reduced the heat of the Moon, created lightning by throwing his sacred thread into the sky and gave grain to men. He made the sky: the Moon was his eldest daughter, and the stars were his children.[365] There was another myth of the Khonds, by which it was shown that the whole world was made from the excreta of a swarm of ants.[366] There was an interesting myth among the Khonds of Koraput about how darkness came to the world. In the old days the Sun in the form of a black cow used to go round and round the world during the night. Once a Khond was out trying to steal something and he caught the cow and took it home. After that there was nothing but darkness until he let it go. Thereafter if the Khonds saw a black cow at night, they used to leave it alone.[367] Referring to the origin of earthquakes. a Khond myth of Ganjam says that whenever any God came out, and opened the door, the earth shook and when he went back and shut the door, the shaking stopped. This was what an earthquake was.[368] There was also a myth among the Khonds that after creating the world Bura Pennu turned his

362. Kamaladevi Chattopadhaya, *Tribalism in India* (New Delhi, 1978), p. 7.
363. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 91.
364. L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai, *The Tribal Culture of India*, p. 244.
365 Varrier Elwin, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, p. xlviii.
366. Ibid, pp. 8-9.
367. Ibid, p. 44.
368. Verrier Elwin, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, p. 93.

mind to the creation of animals and men. He made a small bit of the scorpion's bone into a living leaf-scorpion and threw it into the water, whereupon all beings were at once created.[369] According to another myth, a Khond was born from the belly of a she-goat.[370] There was an interesting myth mentioning the reasons for the elephant's small tail and its inability to fly. When Mukman (S.C. Macpherson) Saheb ordered the Khonds to stop offering human sacrifice, his brother, Kirmal (John Campbell) Saheb heard about it and was very angry. He said to Mukman Saheb, 'Why have you stopped this practice?' and there was a violent quarrel between them.* Now Mukman Saheb had an elephant and Kirmal Saheb had a horse. The elephant had wings and used to fly about. One day Mukman Saheb called the Khonds and took them in hunting to Marigarh Hill, but Kirmal Saheb hid behind some bushes on the way, hoping to surprise his brother and subsequently kill him. But Mukman Saheb saw him in time, and the two brothers met and continued to quarrel. Kirmal Saheb drew his sword and cut off the wings of his brother's elephant and the great creature fell to the ground. Then he caught hold of his brother, but during the struggle Mukman Saheb managed to get free and jumped on to the horse and escaped. The Kirmal Saheb cut off the elephant's tail and wings and threw them away.[371] This type of myth was created in more recent times, i.e. in the later part of the nineteenth century.

As children of the forest, the Khonds were very superstitious and timid, ever ready to imagine signs of approaching evil and offer sacrifices to avert it.[372] Fear of animals also led to the development of superstitious beliefs, among them. If a child, while catching a flock, was killed by a tiger then they used to think that the deity had cast her angry eyes on

369. Verrier Elwin, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, p. 431.
370. Ibid, p. 525.
* There was certainly disagreement between Macpherson and Campbell, who are apparently the officers intended, but it was not on this subject.
371. Varrier Elwin, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, p. 545.
372. Angul Gazetteer, p. 71.

the house to which the child belonged. There the very Earth Goddess was believed to have manifested herself as a tiger, and was to be propitiated immediately.[373] Attacks of wild animals were often followed by the abandonment of a holding.[374] Further, the Khonds were in the habit of attributing to the interposition of some superior and invisible power, every unusual occurrence in the works of nature or the events of life-the thunder, the drought, the murrain among cattle, the epidemic or the pestilence that used to mow down its thousands of human victims. And with the intention of averting such evils or of mitigating their rage, all manner of superstitious usages have been instituted.[375]

Fever, Cholera, Small-pox, Beriberi, Leprosy, Diarrhoea, Desentery, Rheumatism, Veneral Diseases, Ulcers, Malaria etc. were the principal diseases among the Khonds.[376] They did not know or believe that there were any physical cause of such diseases like germs or bacteria.[377] They believed that all those were caused by the deities. Hence for the treatment, they had to appease their deities by human or animal sacrifices.[378] When Cholera broke out in a village, all males and females smeared their bodies from head to foot with pig's fat liquified by heat, and continued to do so until a few days after the disappearance of this dreadful disease. During this time, they did not bathe, lest the smell of the fat should be washed away.[379] F.Fawcett describes a Khond ceremony in which the ground under a tree was cleared in the form of a square, within which they drew the circles of saffron turmeric charcoal, rice and

373. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 64.
374. Angul Gazetteer, p. 71.
375. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 52.
'Goomsur; the late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
376. Vizagapatam Manual, pp. 36-38.
Ganjam Manual, p. 161;
S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 12.
877. OHRJ, Vol. XXXIII, Nos. 3-4, p. 130, N.R. Patnaik's 'Studies in Superstitious Beliefs, Myths, Magic, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Sacrifice of the 19th Century Orissa'.
378. Partially Excluded Areas Report, p. 92.
379. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. *III*, p. 405.

some yellow, powder, as well as an egg or a small chicken. When a certain Khond had an attack of fever caused by the evil spirit, a ceremony was performed.[380] The Khonds used to make attempts to keep Small pox away by placing thorns and brush-wood in the paths leading to places decimated by the disease. They did it with a hope that the demon of the disease might not retrace its steps.[381] Usually, in case of sickness the Shaman or medicine-man was summoned. He divined the cause of the disaster and prescribed the remedy, which was mostly an animal sacrifice made with offerings of grain and liquor.[382] Even in 1875, when vaccination against the Small-pox was done by the Government in Orissa, it was obstructed in Ghumsar where the Khonds persistently disregarded the benefits of the system.[383] On the other hand, they used to perform a ceremony every year before the sowing of the hill-clearings in June in which Dharma Pennu, the Goddess of Small-pox, was worshipped. The medicine-man conducted the series of prophylactic rituals that constituted the ceremony.[384]

Another peculiar superstitious practice of the Khonds was the periodic expulsion of the evils. They used to expel the devils at seed-time instead of at the harvest. At this time they worshipped Pitteri Pennu, the God of increase and gain, in every shape. On the first day of the festival a rude car was made of a basket set upon a few sticks, tied upon the bamboo rollers for wheels. The priest used to take this car first to the house of the lineal head of the tripe, to whom precedence was given in all ceremonies connected with agriculture. Here he received a little of each kind of seed and some feathers, he then took the car to all the other houses in the village, each of which contributed the same things. Lastly, the car was

380. Journal of Anthropological Society, Bombay, Vol. II, 1890.
381. QJms, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1, July 1946, p. 29, I.B. Ghatak's 'Ethnology for India'.
382. Verrier Elwin, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, p. XXIV.
383. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2467G), Madras Government, Acting Agent of Ganjam reporting on the Administration of Hill tracts for 1875, May 25, 1876.
384. Neville A. Watts, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

conducted to a field without the village, attended by all the young men, who beat each other and struck the air violently with long sticks. The seed thus carried out was called the share of the evil spirits, spoilers of the seed. These were considered to be driven out with the car; and when it and its contents were abandoned to them, they were held to have no excuse for interfering with the rest of the seed.[385]

Among the Kuttia Khonds, when a woman became pregnant, she had to observe many rigid taboos, chiefly of a prophylactic nature, and be constantly on the alert for inauspicious omens. Though a woman herself knew many remedies to counteract evil omens, those of the medicineman were considered indispensable to ensure absolute safety. For example, if she looked upon a snake by accident, she was convinced that an evil spirit dangerous to the unborn child had now entered her. To have it exorcised she used to run to the medicine-man. He attempted to remove the evil spirit either by using an arrow as if it were a tube to suck out the evil spirit from her womb, or by direct means. He expectorated into a leaf-bowl and showed this to all those present, explaining that he had removed the evil spirit. The bowl was then taken away to a distant place and burnt.[386]

Another superstitious practice could be found in the Khond society. When a man died, the relatives, on their return from the funeral, left a plate of rice out on the roadside at some distance from their house. If the rice disappeared by the next morning, it was a sign that the departed spirit would at some future time revisit the family. The ceremony was repeated every evening till the propitiatory sacrifice had been performed.[387]

Another superstition of the Khonds in some places was not to kill a tiger though it had proved itself a man-eater. The Khonds regarded the tiger with superstitious reverence.[388] In the northern Maliahs, leopard was looked upon in some

385. J G. Frazer, op. cit , Vol. I, p. 645.
386. Neville A. Watts, op. cit., p. 54.
387. Angul Gazetteer, p. 58.
388. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal,* Vol. XIX, p. 203.

way as a sacred beast by the Khonds. They even used to object to a dead leopard being carried through their villages.[389]

Of some other superstitions among the Khonds, the following are recorded by Jayaram Moodaliar :

"When a Kondh starts out on a shooting expedition, if he first meets an adult female, married or unmarried, he will return home, and ask a child to tell the female to keep out of his way. He will then make a fresh start, and, if he meets a female, will wave his hand to her as a sign that she must keep clear of him. Before a party starts out for shooting, they warn the females not to come on their way. The Kondh believes that, if he sees a female, he will not come across animals in the jungle to shoot. If a woman is in her menses, her husband, brothers, and sons living under the same roof, will not go out shooting for the same reason.

"A Kondh will not leave his village when a Jathra (festival) is being celebrated, lest the god Pennu should visit his wrath on him.

"They will not cut trees, which yield products suitable for human consumption, such as the mango, jak, jambul (Eugenia Jambolana), or iluppai (Bassia) from which they distil a spirituous liquor. Even though these trees prevent the growth of a crop in the fields, they will not cut them down.

"If an owl hoots over the roof of a house, or on a tree close thereto, it is considered unlucky, as foreboding a death in the family at an early date. If an owl hoots close to the village, but outside it, the death of one of the villagers will follow. For this reason, the bird is pelted with stones, and driven off.

"They will not kill a crow, as this would be a sin amounting to the killing of a friend. According to their legend, soon after the creation of the world there was a family consisting of an aged man and woman, and four children,

389. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 406.

who died one after the other in quick succession. Their parents were too aged to take the necessary steps for their cremation, so they threw the bodies away on the ground, at some distance from their home. God appeared to them in their dreams one night, and promised that he would create the crow, so that it might devour the dead bodies.

"They do not consider it a sin to kill a Brahminy kite (Haliastur indus Garuda Pakshi), which is held in veneration throughout Southern India. A Kondh will kill it for so slight an offence as carrying off his chickens.

"They will not cut the crops with a sickle with a serrated edge, such as is used by the Oriyas, but use a straight-edged knife. The crops, after they have been cut, are removed to the village, and threshed by hand, and not with the help of cattle. While this is being done, strangers (Kondhs as well as others) may not look on the crop, or speak to them, lest their evil eye should be cast on them. If a stranger is seen approaching near the threshing-floor, the Kondhs keep him off by signalling to him with their hands, without speaking. The serrated sickle is now used, because it produces a sound like that of cattle-grazing, which would be unpropitious. If cattle were used in threshing the crop, it is believed that the earth god would feel insulted by the dung and unrine of the animals".[390]

The Khonds were firm believers in magic and sorcery.[391] Certain painful experiences in their day-to-day life like diseases, deaths and the like led them to believe in the existence of an invisible spirit. It was believed that this spirit could be appeased by the chanting of some formulas which amounted to the practice of some techniques for canalizing the power for good and evil. This practice is called magic or sorcery.[392]
The Khonds also had great faith in the efficacy of charms.

390. Quoted in E. Thurstou, op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 403-405.
391. Campbell's Narrative, p. 44.
392. L.P. Vidyarthi and B.K. Rai, op. cit., p. 236.

This was professed by one who claimed to possess the power to work marvels, not through the aid and counsel of the supernatural powers but by certain occult faculties and devices. Persons who professed it belonged to either of the sexes. Alfred Lyall has described such persons as crazy Charlatans.[393] However the man who did it best in the southern Orissa was called the 'Chemru Mousa'.[394]

The use of amulets did not appear to be in favour with the Khonds. In times of sickness, the sorcerer (Kutagattanju) wrapped a piece of thread, to which he had knotted a hair from his own head, round the wrist or neck of the patient. It was removed when the patient had completely recovered.[395]

Witchcraft was universally believed in by the Khonds.[396] The Khonds had a particularly strong belief in that exercise of the art which enabled witches to transform themselves into tigers, leopards, wolves, and so on, and in this shape to attack human beings or their cattle.[397] They believed that witches had the faculty of transforming themselves into tigers, and were then called 'Pulto Bagho'.[398*] And sometimes a threat from one man to another that he would convert himself to a tiger had led the threatened man to murder the man who had threatened him.[399] This belief was rooted in the myths of the Earth Goddess, herself being the practitioner of the magic art and teacher of the Khonds of the Tari Sect.[400] John

393. Alfred C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies*, Vol. I, p. 80.
394. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 104.
395. Angul Gazetteer, p. 64.
396. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 203 4G), Madras Government, C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst, Agent, Ganjam, to Brigade, Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October 10, 1883.
397. H H Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 408.
398 Campbell's Narrative, p. 44.
* The belief was very similar to the superstition of the peasants of Normandy or Brittany, who imagined that certain people had the power to change themselves into wolves, and very often had so changed themselves for the purpose of frightening others and doing mischief. (Campbell's Narrative, pp. 44-45.
399. Ganjam Manual, p. 73.
400. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 105.

Campbell himself had come across such cases of 'Pulto Bagho' in which two women claimed themselves to have the power to transform themselves into tigers. But subsequently they confessed the imposture. They stated before Campbell that they had hitherto lived by imposing on the credulity of the villager, who supplied them with food and clothing whenever they chose to demand it in order to secure themselves and their cattle from their (the women's) depredations in the form of a 'Pulto Bagho'.[401]

Another case of witchcraft has been recorded in Madras Police Report, 1904. In Vizagapatam hill tracts, the youngest of three brothers died of fever, and, when the body was cremated, the fire failed to consume the upper portion. The brothers concluded that death must have been caused by the witchcraft of a Khond known to them. So they attacked and killed him. After the death, the brothers cut the body in half, and dragged the upper half to their own village, where they attempted to nail it up on the spot where their deceased brother's body had not perished in burning. The accused were arrested on the spot, with the fragment of the Khond's corpse. They were sentenced to death.[402]

Another case of withcraft has been mentioned by C.H. Mounsy in his report of 1883. A Khond was refused a drink of Toddy by a neighbouring Khond left him with the remark, 'very well, wait and see what would happen to you'. From that moment the Khond who was so cursed was unable to eat anything and he died very soon' This was a clear case of the so called witchcraft. So the other Khonds took their little axes and chopped the guilty man into pieces. No complaint or inquiry followed the incident.[403]

The Khonds used to believe that the witches and devils roamed about chiefly at night-time.[404] According to them,

401. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 45-46.
402. Quoted in E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 408.
403. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA IR Acsn 2034G), Madras Government, C.H. Mounsy, Special Asst. Agent, Ganjam to Brigade Surgeon Bidee, Secretary to Agent to Governor, October, 10, 1883.
404. Ganjam Manual, p. 73.

the soul used to wander during sleep. A case has been cited by F. Fawcett that on one occasion a dispute arose owing to a man discovering that another Khond, whose spirit used to wander about in the guise of a tiger, ate up his spirit, and he became ill.[405]

However, for the detection of such persons (Witches?) several ordeals used to be performed.[406] Sometimes the Desari was called upon to examine the books and name the person suspected to be the witch.[407] The witch-doctor or Desari was believed to have controlled those ill-willed forces and so he alone would be able to control them.[408]

However, in a Khond village the medicine-man was an important personality. Unlike the priest whose office was here-ditary, the medicine-man was prompted to begin his practice as the result of a series of spiritual experiences with a Goddess who, having guided him into his profession, remained there-after his mentor and mediatress with the Gods. He was res-pected by the tribe who regarded him as one specially chosen by a Goddess. He was also accredited with possessing super-natural powers and being a sorcerer. His functions were chiefly to counteract the harm of evil spirits as manifested by inauspicious omens and the various illnesses that plagued the inhabitants.[409]

Of course, all those beliefs were nothing more than superstitions. In all such beliefs, the geography of the Khond territories and its environment played a conspicuous role. Placed beyond the pale of comunication with the plains, the Khonds remained buried in ignorance, superstition and prejudice.

The amazing conglomeration of traditions, beliefs and philosophies that together constitute and vitalise the society of the Khond tribes has descended from antiquity and this was preserved unimpaired to the end of the nineteenth

405. E. Thurston, op. cit. Vol. III. p. 405.
406. H.H. Risley, Op. Cit., Vol. I, p. 408.
407 Vizagapatam Manual, p. 104.
408. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 14.
409. Neville A Watts, op. cit , p. 63.

century. It is this aspect of their culture, odd and even fantastic though it may appear to us, that gives meaning and depth to their lives and solidarity to their social structure.

However so long as these hill people remained isolated they developed their own manners of life without any interference from outsiders. With the march of times and the development of means of communication and transport, even the most remote parts were made accessible for social development. Gradually, the Khond tribes came in contact with the more civilized men of the plains, which brought a few changes in their social structure and paved the way for social development.

Language and Learning

Language

Kui or Kuvi was the language spoken by the Khonds.[410] The Khonds called themselves Ku, and their language was, accordingly, called Kui. In this connection, G.A. Garierson writes, "The word Ku is probably related to Koi, one of the names which the Gonds use to denote themselves. The Koi dialect of Gondi is, however, quite different from Kui."[411] The language of the Khonds was formed by combining bas Ku (Ko) 'mountain or hill' and 'i', a suffix used to denote people with an intervening glide -v-, -y-or-b, which prevents the hiatus. In Tamil 'Ko' means mountain or hill. In Kuvi the adverbial noun, Kuvi means up, above and in Kuyi, Kuyi means above. Though the first vowel of this word is short and that of the tribal names is long, the names of these tribes can be associated with the word Kui or Kuyi occurring in the above languages.[412] Of course some scholars like B.C. Mazumdar opine that Kui is the simple variant in pronouncia-

410. H. Risley, G. Grierson and W. Crooke, *The Ethnology, Languages, Literature and Religions of India* (Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1975), p. 99.
411. G.A. Grierson (Ed.) *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV, p. 457.
412. M. Israel, *A Grammar of the Kuvi Language*, p. xxi.
413 Man in India, Vol. XII, October-December 1932, No. 4, p. 246, B.C. Mazumdar's 'The Kui or the Kondh people'.

tion of the term Kuvi.[413] Recently some other scholars have referred to these two as separate languages.[414] Inspite of their close relationship, the Kui and Kuvi are to be regarded as two separate languages rather than two dialects of the same anguage. Scholars professing this opinion say that the northern branch of the Khond tribes living in the Khond-mals or Khond hills, the region to the west of the Ganjam plain, spoke the Kui language and the southern branch of the Khond tribes living in the Koraput District of Orissa and the adjoining regions of Andhra Pradesh spoke the Kuvi language.[415] However, the Khond language varied locally all over their areas.[416] Of course with some social diversities and varied influences, local differences of vocabulary were inevitable.[417] Though the differences were not great, very often a man from one part of the country experienced difficulty in understanding the Khond language in other parts.[418] In this connection, T.J. Maltby has written thus, "The Goomsur, Kuttia, Chinna and Padda Kimedi people do not succeed in making themselves understood easily by one another".[419] According to A.W. Alderson who had made an extensive study of the Khonds of Ganjam and the Khondmals, the dialect spoken by the Kuttia Khonds of Bissam Katak differed strikingly from the Kui of the Khondmals. Similarly, the Khonds of Kalyana Singhpur maintained that they could not understand the language of the Khonds in the neighbouring taluk of Bissam Katak.[420]

Further, towards the last part of the nineteenth century, in some places the Khond language had come under the influence of the neighbouring Aryan forms of speech.[421] In fact, particulary in those parts of Orissa the Khonds had very much

414. M. Israel, op. cit., p. XV,
415. Ibid.
416. G A. Grierson (Ed.), op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 457.
417. W.W. Winfield, *A Grammar of the Hui Language*, p. XIV.
418. G.A. Grierson (Ed.) op. cit., p. 457;
H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 99.
419. Ganjam Manual, p. 53.
420. R C S. Bell, op. cit., p. 58.
421. G.A. Grierson (Ed,) op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 457.

adopted the Oriya language and had accepted 'Kandha' as their tribal name.[422] In the Feudatory States of Orissa, the great majority of the Khonds spoke Oriya and had forgotten their own tongue to a considerable degree.[423] The number of Khonds using their tribal dialect had been decreasing day by day[424] and in the Khondmals, for example, the decline during the decade ending in 1901 was less than fourteen per cernt.[425]

The tribal language of the Khonds was Dravidian.[426] It was a mixture of Telugu, Tamil, Kanarese, Oriya and other cognate languages.[427] It is said to be closely allied to Gondi the tribal dialect of the Gonds.[428] It was reported, however, that the resemblance to Gondi was not more than the resemblance to Telugu.[429] It is probable that the Khonds coming into contact with the Gonds might have borrowed some of the Gond words as they did with Oriya words later[430] But many words remained almost exactly the same in Khond as in Telugu.*

422. Man in India, Vol. XII, October-December, 1932, No. 4, p. 246, B.C. Muzumdar's 'The Kui or the Kondh people'.
423. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 39.
424. G.A. Grierson (Ed.), op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 457.
425. Angul Gazetteer, p. 35.
426. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1228G), Madras Government, G.O., Educational, September 20, 1883, No. 619;
W.W. Winfield, op. cit., p. xiii.
427. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 16, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
W.W. Winfield, op. cit., p. xiii;
Stephen Fuchs, *The Aboriginal Tribes of India*, p. 183.
428. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 17, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
429. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 481.
430. Angul Gazetteer, p. 35.

* For further details, the following works may be consulted : J.P. Frye, *Dialogues and Sentences in Khond language* (Cuttack, 1851), J.Mc D. Smith, *A Practical Handbook of Khond Language* Cuttack, 1876), Letchmajee Lingum, *Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kondh Language* (Reprint, Calcutta, 1902), F.V.P. Schulze, *Vocabulary of the Kuvi-Kond Language* (Madros 1913), O.J. Mill man, *Kui Primer* (Calcutta, 1915).

The language of the Khonds was an agglutinative language, grammatical relations being expressed not by changes within the roots of words, but by suffixes added to the roots or compounded with them. Certain vowel and consonantal fluctuations, too, could be noted in passing from one locality to another. Such dialectical variations, however, did not prevent a substantial agreement in the language as it was spoken, and its grammatical construction in all districts was fundamentally the same. This grammar of the Ghumsar-Udaygiri Taluk was regarded as the standard one.[431]

Further, in reference to the vocabularies, it could be decided at once that the Khond numerals (save the first two), were borrowed from the Aryan vernaculars.[432]

The Khond system of notation was duodecimal: such as, thirteen was twelve and one, forty, three twelves and four, and the like.[433]

However, the Khond language was quite uncultivated.[434] It had no script of its own and no native literature either until J.P. Frye gave it to a written form.[435]

The first attempt to bring out the Khond language in writing and exactness was taken in 1845 by J. Cadenhead, the then Acting Principal Assistant Agent in Ganjam. But progress in this matter was comparatively slow because of the numerous demands upon his time and attention. The increasing difficulties in the Meriah Agency compelled him again and again to suspend temporarily his labour in the matter.[436] The man who has rendered the most memorable service to the Khonds is Captain J.P. Frye of the Madras Army who was the first to reduce their Ghumsar dialect to writing.[437] A University man

431. W.W. Winfield, op. cit , p. xiv.
432. JASB, Vol. XXV, 1356, Nos. I-VII, p. 40, 'Aborigines of the Eastern Ghats'.
433. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 412.
434. H Risley, G. Grierson and W. Crooke, op. cit , p 99.
435. Campbell's Narrative, p. 20;
W.W. Winfield, op cit., p. xiii.
436. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 239.
437. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1228G) Madras Government, H. St. A Goodrich, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to Inspector of Schools, First Division, Waltair, December 20, 1882.

and a born linguist, Frye in his first four Indian years could initiate himself into Hindustani, Oriya and Telugu, and even into Persian and Sanskrit.[438] This commendable officer, being an oriental scholar of the highest rank, occupied himself most zealously in the acquisition of the Khond language.[439] About him John Campbell writes, "No European has ever yet acquired a knowledge of the Khond dialect to be compared with that of Captain Frye."[440] In 1851, Captain Frye published some elementary works like 'Primer and Progressing Reading Lessons in the Kondh Language', 'Fables in the Kond Language', 'Dialogues and Sentences in the Kondh Language' and 'The History of Joseph in the Kui or Kondh Language'.[441] He brought a lithographic press to print his works.[442] The most monumental work of his which he had left before his death was a number of Khond manuscripts containing materials for the preparation of a dictionary and grammar of that language.[443] ' Those were evidently written with an object to educate the Khonds in the Khond language.[444] But due to his untimely death* in 1855, these valuable manuscripts could not be published. Yet some British officials and linguists had realised then the importance of these manuscripts. Profe.sor H.H. Wilson, a famous linguist of the time, made his comments on Frye's manuscripts thus, "They (Frye's manuscripts) furnish very ample and valuable materials

438. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 23.
439. Campbells's Narrative, p. 173.
440. Ibid. p. 168.
441. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1228G) Madras Government, H.B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, to Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, August 10, 1883.
412. CCO, New Series, Vol. XIV, No. 159, March 1853, pp 113-117, 'Khond Literature';
S. Pearce Carey, op cit , p. 24.
443. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 2106G), Madras Government, G.O. Educational July 7, 1886, No. 420.
444. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR 1259G), Madras Government, J.M. Smith, Paymaster of Pensioners, Bangalore, to Chief Secretary to Government, Bangalore, November 5, 1883.
* J.P. Frye died of blackwater fever in April 1855.

for a grammar of the Khond language, and for two dictionaries, English and Khond ; and Khond and English... It is, no doubt, very desirable that the papers should be printed both as supplying a necessary key to our interourse with the Khond races and as tending to promote their cultivation and the abolition of their barbarous sacrifices".[445] Seshgiri Shastri and Dr. Oppert, two other linguists, have also highly praised the work of Frye's manuscript as invaluable.[446] But unfortunately it was shelved in the chest of the office of the Director of Public Instruction, Madras.[447] Thus it could not see the light of the day.

However, in the meantime, another work on the Khond language entitled 'Practical Handbook of the Khond Language' written by J. McDonald Smith was published in 1876. A grammar book entitled 'Introduction to the Grammar of the Kui or Kondh Language' was also published. Letchmajee Lingum was its author.[448] But none of these works was adequate for a more advanced study of the Khond language.

Learning

It is most unfortunate that education could not reach the Khonds who were living in the hills and forests. In this connection William Adam in his educational report of 1838 writes, "I am aware that much may be, and has been, done to civilise those tribes by promoting and protecting industry, by administering justice between man and man, and by punishing crimes against society. But such moral conquests can be secured only by that knowledge and those habits which

445. Bd. Procd, Edu OSA LR 1259G), Madras Government, Memorandum to H.H. Wilson, March 17, 1856.
446. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR 2106G), Madras Government, G.O. Education, July 7, 1886, No. 420.
447. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR 1228G), Madras Government, H B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, to Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Madras, August 10, 1883.
448. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR 1228G), Madras Government, A. Monro, Inspector of Schools, First Division, to Director of Public Instruction, Vijaynagram, January 17, 1883.

education gives, and the means of education have hitherto been very sparingly employed."[449]

Of course there were a good number of difficulties to educate the Khonds. First, the areas in which the Khonds lived were by and large inaccessible and the climate of these areas was unhealthy. Furthermore, there was lack of proper communication. As such influx of the settlers from the more civilized part who could have educated the Khonds was not possible. Secondly, the Khonds were apathetic and indifferent to education. They use to say that they had never known what learning was and could not see why it was necessary for their children. The most absurd argument was that reading would make their eyes fall from their sockets.[450] Further, the Khonds used to believe that education would make their boys idle in the fields.[451] They were also under the impression that their children, after receiving education, would not help their illiterate parents in the field work. Even the prospect of employments did not attract the attention of the parents for sending their children to school.[452] they though that the real intention of the Government was to take away the children who would start reading. It was also seen that in some schools pupils were actually withdrawn in consequence of this mischievous report.[453] Macdonald observed that the Khonds somehow developed an impression that education and taxation would go together, and that the

449. William Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal 1835 and 1838* (Calcutta, 1941), p. 448.

450. SRG (Madras), No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1854-55 (Madras, 1855), p. 27, A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, August 29, 1855, No. 32.

451. Verrier Elwin, *A Brief survey of the aboriginal tribes of districts of Ganjam and Koraput* (Cuttack, 1946), p. 19.

452. JOH, Vol, VII, June 1987, No. 1, p. 59, D. Behera's 'Education in Ghumsur, 1836-66'.

453. SRG (Madras), No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1854-55, p. 24, A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort, St. George, August 29, 1855, No. 32.

establishment of schools was a measure in some way connected with the future assessment of their lands.[454] Furthermore, the Khonds and their Chiefs were reluctant to see schools established in their localities because they superstitiously feared that such an act might bring calamities for them. The elders used to argue that if for centuries they could live happily without education, why could they not live without it now?[455] Such were the feelings of the Khonds towards education. As John Campbell wrote in this connection. "The hardening influences of self-satisfied ignorance had full possession of these old chiefs, and their gloomy suprstitions and hatred of knowledge would end only with their lives".[456] Thus it was difficult for both the Missionaries and the British Government to introduce education in the Khond tracts. Till 1845 there was not much progress in the field of education among the Khonds.

The British officials in charge of the suppression of Meriah and infanticide were the first to take interest in educating the Khonds. S.C. Macpherson, the Meriah Agent, tried to carry education into the Khond hills, as early as possible. He thought that through the moral and religious advancement of the Khonds, educating them, their ancestral faith and usages supporting human sacrifice could come under permanent change. When J. Cadenhead was in charge of managing the Meriah Agency in 1844-45, Macpherson requested him repeatedly to adopt some measures as speedily as possible to establish some schools in the Khond hills. Cadenhead tried to give some concrete shape to this proposal. But it was of no avail as he had to remain busy in other difficult problems of the Agency.[457]

In 1847, John Campbell took charge of the Meriah Agency

454. SRG (Madras), No. XXXV, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1855-56 (Madras, 1856), p. 34, Director of Public Instruction to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, November 5, 1856, No. 827.

455. Cambell's Narrative, p. 179.

456. Ibid, p. 180.

457. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 239.

from Macpherson. He was very zealous for the establishment of schools in the Khond hills.[458] During his tenure a number of steps were taken in the Khond tracts for the spread of education. In the year 1850-51, seven elementary schools were established in the Khond hills of Ghumsar, for imparting education to the Khond children of those tracts.[459] Those were in Chinna Kimedy, Kurmingia, Udayagiri, Mahasingi and Ghumsar.[460] But the progress of these schools was not satisfactory. The attendance of the students was not encouraging. The parents did not cooperate to send their children to the schools. In some schools, the teachers proved their inability to teach and could not attract the Khond children to the schools.[461]

R.M. Macdonald, the Assistant Agent inspecting the above schools wrote, "Children from the villages around often came, attracted by curiosity, to my tent; as soon as the subject of schools was introduced, they would immediately disappear from the crowd and the Malikos would gravely proceed to inform me, that, even if they wished it, no school could be established there, as there happened to be no children in that particular Mootah".[462]

However, on the recommendation of Macdonald, sanction was granted for the establishment of nine schools on an experimental basis. The appointment of an Inspector on a salary of thirty rupees per mensem was also granted. The salary of the teachers which was hardly five rupees per mensem was raised to ten rupees. An additional allowance

458. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit. p. 21.
459. SRG (Madras), No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1854-55, p. 22, A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, August 29, 1855, No. 32.
460. OHCP, 1977, p. 156, S. Devi's 'Education in Southern Orissa in early part of nineteenth century'.
461. SRG (Madras), No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1854-55, p. 25, A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, August 29, 1855, No. 32.
462. Ibid.

of five rupees per mensem was to be given as incentive allowance to teachers whose schools would be reported best.[463] But Macdonald reported that none of the Khond schools which had been established hitherto were working due to the want of supervision and inadequacy of qualified masters. Therefore he suggested that some purely Oriya schools which had comparatively less difficulties, might be converted to mixed schools for Oriyas and Khonds. He made this suggestion on consideration of the benefit that would accrue from the fact of Oriya and Khond boys reading together in the same school. The former might influence the latter in the interest of the general welfare of the society. He also hoped that the students, after completion of their education from such schools, would be competent enough to become teachers with the knowledge of the Khond language and would be able to teach better to the Khond students of the hill areas.[464] However, the Oriya schools in plains which henceforth served as mixed schools for Oriya as well as Khond students could not fulfil the expectation. The Oriyas did not like to send their childern to such schools lest they might be spoiled by coming in contact with the Khond children. The Khonds on the other hand were apathetic towards allowing their children to join these mixed schools.[465]

Meanwhile the famous Educational Despath of 1854 (Wood's Despatch) gave encouragement to private enterprise for running schools.[466] Whatever might be the utilitarian

463. SRG (Madras), No. XXXV, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1855-56 (Madras, 1856), p. 30, Director of Public Instruction to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St, George, November 5, 1856, No. 827.

464. SRG (Madras), No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1854-55, p. 28, A.J. Arbuthnol, Director of Public Instruction to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, August 29, 1855, No. 32.

465. SRG (Madras), No. XXXV, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1855-56, p. 34, Director of Public Instruction, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, November 5, 1856, No. 827.

466. W.W. Hunter, *The Morquess of Dalhousie* (Oxford, 1895), p. 207; H.R, James, *Education and Statesmanship in India* (Bombay, 1917), JIH, Vol. XLII, Part II, SI. No. 125, August 1964, p. 494.

aspect of Wood's Despatch, the people of Orissa along with the Khonds received no immediate benefits from it.[467]

By 1855-56, eleven schools had been working in the hill tracts of Ganjam. However, compared to previous years, the progress made in these schools was somewhat good. Earlier many of the Mallikas or hill Chiefs refused to permit their children to attend the schools. Later on, the guardians, after permitting the names of their children to be entered in the school's register, withdrew their names on the plea that such children had been suddenly afflicted with various diseases. At least that is what they told the authorities. After much persuasion one of the fathers agreed to permit his son to attend school on the tacit understanding that his name should not be recorded in the school's register. However two of them consented unconditionally. But it was during 1855-56 that some resenting hill Chiefs were found to have come voluntarily with a request to establish schools in their villages. One of them even volunteered to send his daughters to school. This change in the sentiments of the hill Chiefs tended to show that a desire for education was gradually kindling in the Khond tracts.[468]

Macdonald, the Assistant Agent, had previously recommended the establishment of a small model school at Russelkonda, in which the teachers of the existing schools were to receive training for developing the modes of teaching. He had also recommended that a number of Khond youths might be educated to be employed in the teaching cadre in question. Further, he proposed to grant a small monthly allowance for the maintenance of a teacher and a limited number of pupils at his Head Quarters of Russelkonda. Such pupils might be given a course of reading, writing, arithmetic, and drill. And the most intelligent of them should, at the expiration of a fixed period of probation, be rewarded with

467. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 146.
468. SRG (Madras), No. XXXV, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1855-56, pp. 30-35, Director of Public Instruction, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, November 5, 1856, No. 827.

a post in the Sibbundies or in the Hill Police. Furthermore, the most promising pupils from the other schools should be grafted from time to time into the school at Russelkonda, to compete for the vacant situations. Thus the chance of getting an employment would give a stimulus to the parents for sending their children to school. On the basis of Macdonald's recommendation at Training School for Teachers was established at Russelkonda. But initially his recommendation did not prove successful. No prospect of employment induced the parents to part with their children.[469]

Inspite of the failure to achieve the desired results, the Missionaries' work for the spread of education in the Khond tracts deserved admiration. With the patronage of the Baptist Missionaries a few Meriah schools were opened to rehabilitate the rescued Meriahs.[470] In this regard the efforts of the Missionaries, namely Mr. and Mrs. Stubbins, Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson and Mr. and Mrs. Buckley, were the most commendable.[471] The Missionaries also published some school books written in Kui language for the Khond children.[472] Many of the rescued Meriahs were educated in Mission Schools at Berhampur, Cuttack and Balasore.[473] The Missionaries received rupees three from the Government for each Meriah child for their maintenance.[474] However, compared to the plain area, the number of Missionary schools in Khond tracts was very few.

469. SRG (Madras), No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1854-55, pp. 23-24, A.J. Arbuthnot, Director of Public Instruction, to T. Pycroft, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, August 29, 1855, No. 32.
470. OHRJ, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 1-2, p. 34, N.R. Patnaik's 'Missionary activities and its social impact on 19th Century Orissa'.
471. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, p. 239.
472. H.H. Risley and E.A. Gait, *Census of India, 1901*, Vol. I, Part I, (Calcutta, 1903), p. 288.
473. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, pp. 229-239; James Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, p. 291.
474. Bd, Procd, Jud (BSA No. 118A), Bengal Government of India to John Campbell, June 21, 1848; Missionary Herald, No. LXXI, November 1, 1862, p. 162.

The Roman Catholics, too tried to educate the children of the Khond tracts of Orissa. They set up a school where education was provided to the rescued orphans and poor children of the Khond hills.

In 1859-60, the progress of education was quite encouraging in the hill tracts of Ganjam. There were seventeen schools in places like Kurmingiya, Udayagiri, Nuagaum, Tentilgodo, Koinjur, Chokapad, Brahamnpad, Possera, Donga, Ghatigodo, Neddigodo, Godapur, Subarnagiri, Purnagodo, Shankarakhol, Gudrikiya and Sarangodo. Besides, there was also a Meriah school at Uperbhago of the hill tracts of Ganjam, which was established on the 1st February 1856. The attendance in these schools was quite heartening.[475] Teaching was imparted mainly in Oriya, and History. Geography, Mathematics, Astronomy and English were the subjects taught to the students.[476] But the course of studies was found to be difficult for the Khond students. That was because they could not grasp either grammar or even History and Geography, what to speak of the didactic portions of the 'Hitopodesh' and Sutton's theory of Astronomy.[477]

In 1862, the Government changed the policy on the venue of the hill schools. Places of easier reach were selected for the purpose. Such schools became popular in Khond tracts and the number of students in those schools increased. Further, the standard of education in those schools improved due to the improvement in teaching and effectiveness of supervision.[478] Now teachers were appointed from among those who received training from the Teachers' Training School at Russelkonda.[479]

475. SRG (Madras), No. LXIX, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1859-60 (Madras, 1861), p. 65.
476. J E M, Vol. 1, October 10, 1882, p. 950.
477. SRG (Madras), Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1860-61 (Madras, 1862), p. 182.
478. JOH, Vol. VII, 1987, No. 1, p. 61, D. Behera's 'Education in Ghumsur, 1836-66'.
479. SRG (Madras), Report on the Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1861-62-(Madras, 1862), p. 139.

In 1863, the Madras Government passed an Act for the better management of the schools,[480] But this Act did not help in the improvement of the schools system.[481] In 1865, particularly in the Khond tracts of Ganjam, the state of education came to face rapid deterioration. There was a drastic fall in the attendance of the Khond students in those hill schools. And it was ascribed to the frequent Khond risings of that year. To improve the situation the Government appointed a School Superintendent in 1865 for all the hill schools with a monthly salary of thirty rupees for the supervision of teaching and learning in those schools. This measure of the Government proved somewhat effective. The attendance at the hill schools considerably improved. Of course behind it lay the proper vigilance of the Superintendent of the hill schools.[482]

During this time some changes were made. The school at Upperbhago was closed down and the same establishment was transferred to Prushottampur. A school was also opened at Rayagada in Jeypore zamindary under the Grant-in-aid rules. To that school a teacher was sent from Ganjam.[483] By 1867 there were thirteen schools in Ghumsar and Chinna kimedy with 471 pupils on the rolls. An examination conducted by School Inspector H.B. Grigg was attended by 353 pupils.[484] All the same the Khond people were quite indifferent to education and condition of the schools was not

480. JEM, Vol. VI, No. 9, September-November 1892, pp. 529-531.
481. SRG (India), Home Department, No. LIV, A.M. Monteath's 'Note on the State of education in India during 1856-66 '(Calcutta, 1867), p. 64.
482. SRG (Madras), No. XI, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1867-68 Madras, 1868), p. 30, E B. Powell, Director of Public Instruction to R.S Ellis, Chief Secretary to Government. Fort. St. George, July 15, 1868, No. 1534.
483. SRG (Madras), No. XI, Report on Public Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1867-68, Appendix-I, pp iii-iv, H.B. Grigg, Acting Inspector of Schools, 1st Division, to E.B. Powell, Director of Public Instruction, May 23, 1868, No. 431.
484. Bd. Procd, Equ (OSA LR 1839G), Madras Govrnment, H.B. Grigg, Acting Inspector of Schools, 1st Division, to Director of Public Instruction, Madras, April 15, 1867, No. 58.

satisfactory. The Madras Government brought this fact to general notice in 1867 in the following words, "The condition of the schools cannot, the Government regret to say, be considered satisfactory, but very considerable allowance must necessarily be made for the great difficulty that is found in procuring competent Masters in this part of the country, and indfference exhibited by an uncivilized population to the advantage of education. In respect of most of these schools, there is the same story of incompeteni or idle Masters, irregular attendance, false returns of attendance, and want of effieient superintendence".[485]

In 1868, two new schools were opened in the Khond tracts of Ganjam, one at Kabalgam and the other at Gudrigam. But in every school the attendance was irregular, and there was hardly a boy who was found to have taken active interest in his work. In that year the School Inspector, H. Bowers, remarked that the growth of education in the hill tracts of Ganjam was highly usatisfactory. The reasons behind it could be ascribed to the high standard of education prescribed for the schools, the want of efficient supervision, the total indifference of the people to education, and the inefficiency of the Masters. The School Inspector suggested that the schools should be placed under the direct supervision of the European Officer stationed on the hills, that the course of instruction should be as simple as possible, that it should be restricted to what the Masters were competent to teach, namely reading, writing, and the Elements of Arithmetic. In addition to it, he also suggested an increase in the pay of the Masters and the reformation of a Normal Class at Russelkonda. A further suggestion of his was to keep the Junior Assistant Agent in charge of the direct management of the schools.[486] Pointing out the lack of convenient houses for some of the schools, he

485. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR 1839G), Madras Government, G. O. Educational, July 29, 1867, No. 242.
486. SRG (Madras), No. XV, Report on Puplic Instruction in Madras Presidency for 1868-69 (Madras, 1869), Appendix-A, Nor 1, pp. ixx, H. Bowers, Inspector of Schools, 1st Disvision, to E B. Powell, Director of Public Instruction, Madras, May 10, 1869, No. 110.

made the following remark, "It seems to me unreasonable to expect a school to be efficiently carried on in a close, dark, confined native house".[487]

The Madras Government, considering the above recommendations, took some positive steps to improve the condition of education in the Khond tracts, particulary to attract Khond students to the schools. Books and slates were supplied to them and scholarships were instituted.[488] In the mean time one European official, J.M. Smith, wrote a practical Handbook of the Khond language.[489] For its preparation he took the help of some other works, viz. T.J., Maltby's Oriya Hand-Book' 'J.P. Frye's 'Fables in the Khond language' and H.A. Goodrich's 'Vocabulary'.[490] This book of Smith's was written in Roman script, partly because the Khonds had no written script and partly because it would be more useful to any Englishmen wishing to learn the language.[491] The publication of this 'Practical Hand-book' in the Khond language was financed by the Madras Government. Two hundred fifty copies of it were printed in 1876 at a total cost of five hundred twenty seven rupees.[492] Earlier, through the unwearied assiduity, of J.P. Frye, a sufficient quantity of school books in the Khond language had already

487. Ibid, p. x.
488. JOH, Vol. IX, June 1989, p. 121, N.R. Patnaik's 'Growth of education and its social impact on 19th Century Orissa'.
489. Bd. Procd. Edu (OSA LR Acsn 3348G), Madras Government, R. Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam, to W. Hudleston, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, November 27, 1875, No. 1021.
490. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 33 47G), Madras Government, R. Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam, to D.F. Carmichael, Officiating Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, June 11, 1375, No. 129.
491. Bd. Procd. Edu (OSA LR Acsn 33 47G), Madras Government, J.M. Smith, Special Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to R. Davidson, Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam May 11, 1875, No. 76.
492. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 23 15G), Madras Government, C.G. Master, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to Officiating Chief Secretary to Government, March 30, 1877, No. 131.

been prepared.[493] All these books not only encouraged the Khond students, but also enlightened the teachers and the British Officials in the matter of learning their language.

The Government also tried to induce all European officials residing in the Maliahs to qualify themselves in the Khond language. Ramus, the Baliguda Magistrate, was awarded five hundred rupees for passing the Khond language examination.[494] The Government of India by its order No. 586 dated 26th May 1874, had also fixed a reward of 500 rupees to an European and 250 rupees to a Native official who could pass a successful colloquial examination in that language.[495] That was because the acquisition of a colloquial knowledge on the part of an educational officer and other officers of the Khond tracts for the efficient discharge of their duties was felt to be desirable. The publication of Khond books, Khond Handbooks and Frye's Khond manuscript helped the British officials immensely to acquaint themselves with the native language. Furthermore, the Government felt that a school literature in the Khond language was to be prepared for giving instruction to Khond pupils in schools in the speech of their own language.[496]

Thus gradually, there was a progress of education in the Khond tracts, though it was quite slow. Referring to the working of schools in the Khond tracts C.F. MacCartie, Special Assistant Agent in Ganjam, in his report of 1881 thus wrote. "In reviewing the past history of these schools, at least since 1878, I see no cause for despondency in regard to their future prospects; if the progress made had not been by leaps and bounds, at any rate they have in no case fallen

493. Campbell's Narrative p. 78

494. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1690G), Madras Government, R. Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam to D F. Carmiceael, Acting Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, July 1, 1874.

495. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1228G), Madras Government, G.O. Educational, September 20, 1883, N 619,

496. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LA Acsn 1228G), Madras Government, H. B Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, to Acting Chief Seeretary to Government, Madras, August 10, 1883, No. 5515.

back".[497] By 31st March, 1882, there were fifteen hill schools in Ghumsar and Chinna Kimedy Maliahs. In these schools the attendance of Khond students was 257, out of which 250 were boys and 7 girls.[498] In order to popularize education among the Khonds, games were also introduced in their schools. This led to a remarkable increase in attendance.[499] The Government noticed that not only the Khonds but also the Khond Chiefs like the Patros and Bissois were taking keen interest in education and there was a growing demand for schools in Khond villages.[500] Further, some of the Khonds who were educated in the hill schools became teachers.[501] By 1881, there was four Khonds among the teaching staff of the hill schools.[502] In the hill school of Udayagiri, the Head-master was a Khond. He was Subudhi Malliko.[503] Another improvement was the interest of the Khond girls in getting education. In this connection the Special Assistant Agent in Ganjam reported his own experience thus, "The Khond girls were proud of what they had learnt, crowding round me, whereas they are generally shy, to show me the specimens of

497. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 2005G), Madras Government, C.F. MacCartie Special Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to H B. Grigg, Director to Public Instruction, April 1, 1881. No. 6s,
498. Bd Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 19 41G), Madras Government, C.H Mounsev, Special Assistant Agent, Ganjam to H.B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, April 5, 1882, No 3.
499. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsu 1941G), Madras Government. A. Munro, Inspector of Schools, First Division, to H.B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, June 5, 1882, No. 1273.
500. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1942G), Madras Governmant, H.B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, to Chief Secretary to Government August 28, 1882, No. N-444.
501. Ganjam Manual, p. 72.
502. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsu 2005G) Madras Government, C F. MacCartie, Special Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to [H.B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, April 1, 1881, No. 6s.
503, Bd Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1945G), Madras Government, C H. Mounscy, Special Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to H B. Grigg, Director of Public Instruction, April 9, 1884.

their handwork".[504] Furthermore, decided improvements in personal cleanliness, such as wearing fashionable clothes purchased from the plains, was found among the Khonds, due to the impact of education.

When this was the progress of education in the hill tracts of Ganjam, very little was achieved in Khondmals in this respect. As late as 1868, no serious steps were taken there for the improvement of education. When Dinabandhu Patnaik joined there as Tahasildar he felt the necessity of spreading education amongst the local people and got a school sanctioned at Bisipara, the then Headquarters of the Tahasil, at an expenditure of thirty rupees per month.[505] Even then the people of the locality were indifferent to getting their children educated. Dinabandhu Patnaik worked hard to bring home the utility and benefit of education to the people and succeeded in getting 65 boys and 15 girls to join the school. He also found that a number of boys were too poor and it was difficult for them to get a daily meal regularly. So, Dinabandhu Patnaik made a further attempt and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of several general local officials and other gentry in getting a contribution amounting to eighty three rupees for the purpose.[506] It was no doubt a good beginning for the future growth of education among the Khonds of Khondmals. Gradually they evinced a desire to educate themselves through schools.[507] In this context, T.E. Ravenshaw, the Commissioner of Orissa in 1872-73, reported, "A remarkable move in relation to education has been made among the wild tribes of Khond hills. These people have submitted of their own wish, and indeed of their own motion, to a tax on liquor shops, the proceeds of which are devoted to the establishment of schools. The tax has been realised without difficulty, and a number of schools have been built and are maintained by the

504. Bd. Procd, Edu (OSA LR Acsn 1946G), Madras Government, Special Assistant Agent, Ganjam, to Agent to Governor, April, 1, 1884.
505. Utkal Dipika, January 25, 1868.
506. OHRJ, Vol. X, 1962, No. 4, p. 55, S. Patnaik's 'Orissa in 1868'.
507. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 301.

people themselves."[503] However, by the end of the twentieth century, in the Khondmals there were twelve Primary Schools, with Khond teachers exclusively, for the benefit of the Khonds. But the progress was not satisfactory, mainly for the fact that the Khond children were taught by means of an Oriya Primer, which they could not understand, as they spoke only the Khond dialect.[509]

In Jeypore Estate, the growth of education among the Khonds was very slow. By 1866 there was not even a single school in the whole of the Vizagapatam Agency which included the Jeypore Estate. Carmichael then wrote, "The school we set a foot at the town of Jeypore on our first entering the country three years ago, met with no success whatever and after struggling for some time with neglect and the climate, the master came down and shortly afterwards died" This school was not revived for some years, and a fresh beginning was made for opening a school at Gunupur. Thus due to the absence of schools the Khond children of Jeypore Estate were deprived of education. By 1895-96, however, the condition had already been improved and there were 120 schools in the Agencies under the charge of the Assistant Agents at Koraput and Parvatipur, with 2551 pupils.[510] Thus the establishment of schools enabled the Khond children to go in for education, though quite late. But still the progress was slow compared to that of Ganjam District.

Thus due to the sincere efforts of some British officials and Missionaries the Khonds were somehow educated. Of course it was very little compared to that of the people of the plain areas initially the Khonds remained apathetic and indifferent to education due to their superstitious beliefs against learning. But when the Meriah Agency was created to suppress human sacrifice and infanticide, then the spread of education in the Khond tracts became one of the prime objectives of the Government. Hill schools were opened and parents were

508. Quoted in W.W. Hunter's *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 265.

509. Angul Gazetteer, p. 128.

510. R C S. Bell, op. cit , pp. 156-157.

persuaded by the Government to send their children to those schools. Missionaries too worked hard to enlighten the Khond children. Gradually the Khonds could understand the utility of learning. Being enlightened under the fold of education, the Khonds improved their social behaviour and habits. Subsequently they were no more to be depicted as 'stupid and ignorant'.

4

Religious Life

The religion of the aboriginal races including the Khonds happened to be the earliest religion of Orissa. The religious faith of the Khonds showed a remarkable continuity down the ages. One is astonished to find that it was the same in the nineteenth century as it had been in centuries past.

Our knowledge of the religion of the Khonds in the nineteenth century is mostly deprived from S.C. Macpherson's elaborate essay which was read before the Royal Asiatic Society on 20, November 1841. It propounds a system of theocracy and ethics more profound than one would expect to find amongst so ignorant a people. However it appears to be the combination of several Hindu systems and primitive paganism. Of course John Campbell, who was for so many years employed among the Khonds, was somewhat sceptical of their religion that Macpherson had highlighted. He was of the opinion that Macpherson had not been properly briefed by Hindu informants. But under the peculiar circumstances of the race, it is quite possible that such a system might have been gradually built up among the Khonds by Brahmans, Gosains, and other Hindus, who not only lived amongst them, but also joined in their sacrifices.

The Khonds had Divinities all their own. These had arisen from two basic theories. The first had arisen from the deification of the most prominent forms of the sensible universe, or rather of powers which were believed to animate and control these forms, or from the deification of those preter-

natural agents which were supposed to direct and influence the leading events and pursuits of life.[1] The second had arisen from the adoration of the divine energy, as it was vaguely associated with abstract ideas, predominating sentiments, and local objects.[2]

In addition to their divinities of native origin, the Khonds adopted Kali, the Sakti, active energy and consort of Siva the reproducer, who was worshipped by the Hindus of the nearby localities.[3] The Khonds also worshipped some Hindu Gods besides worshipping quietly their own tribal Gods and sylvan deities.[4] Of course the Hindu deities were gradually adopted, when the Khonds came more and more in contract with the Hindus of the plains.

The mutual improvement of God and nature is a common characteristic of primitive peoples. Sky and God; rain and deity are somehow different aspects of the same thing.[5] It is also the same in case of the Khonds' religion. They were Animistic.[6] The Khonds' religion was pantheistic and they worshipped the hills, the sun, fire, the earth and so on.[7] Their deities were believed to be very sensitive to all kinds of neglect or disobedience. They reacted immediately to any breach of an established taboo. They were fussy about their rights and always ready to be insulted. They expressed their displeasure by ruining a crop, sending a tiger to attack the cattle, but above all by making the offender ill. Sickness was their routine punishment for every mistake and crime in relation to the Gods and Goddesses.[8] Each one of them was to be

1. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 53, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; the late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
2. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 60.
3. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 176.
4. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 40.
5. Robert Redfield, *The Primitive world and its transformation* (Reprint, Middlesex, 1968), p. 108.
6. *Manual of Standing information for the Madras Presidency, 1893* (Madras, 1893), p. 86;
   Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 92.
7. K. Sharma, *The Kondh of Orissa*, p. 19.
8. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol, I, p 403;
   H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 97.

propitiated by offering blood.[9] Shedding blood was thus essential in the religious practices of the Khonds.[10] In this context W.W. Hunter writes, "The religion of the Kandhs is essentially one of blood. Gods many and terrible dwell upon the earth and under the earth, in the waters and in the sky, each and all of whom must be propitiated by victims. As the Kandh theory of human existence is a normal state of war, broken at intervals by expressly stipulated truces, so their conception of the nature of God is one of chronic hostility to mankind, mitigated at intervals by the outpouring of blood."[11]

The religion of the Khonds exhibited the transition from the rude worship of the primitive races of India to the composite structure of Aryan beliefs and aboriginal rites of which modern Hinduism is made up.[12] Their Pantheon embraced the deities of various degrees of power, 'in a kind of railway classification'.[13] Among all these deities, some were undoubtedly aboriginal, some were of mixed or doubtful original and some, were derived from the Hindus.[14] S.C. Macpherson has divided all the deities into three classes, the first comprehending those which were universally acknowledged : the second, the local divinities; and the third, the deities imported from the Hindu Pantheon.[15] The total number of deities, as given by Russell and Hira Lal was eighty-four.[16] The proper Khond name for a deity was Pennu.[17] Some of the chief Khond deities are as follows.

9. Campbell's Narrative, p. 39.
10. Hermann Niggemever, *Kuttia Kond* (Dschungel-Bauern in Orissa), p 244.
11. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 92.
12. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 232.
13 Campbell's Narrative, p. 161.
14. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 92.
15. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 61.
16. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 473.
17. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 151.

Bura Pennu and Tari Pennu

Bura Pennu was the chief deity of the Khonds.[18] He is the Supreme Being, the source of all Good and the Creater of the Universe.[19] Generally, he has been depicted as the God of Light or Sun God.[20] But Macpherson and Hunter have mentioned that the Khonds treated Bura Pennu as the Earth God and the Sun was worshipped in the name of Bella Pennu.[21] At the same time Macpherson has opined that in some districts the Sun-God was honoured by the Khonds as the chief God.[22]

Bura Pennu or Bella Pennu created Tari Pennu, the Earth-Goddess as his consort and from them were born other Gods.[23] But Tari Pennu became the source of all evils.[24]

One day, while walking on the earth with Tari, Bura Pennu got angry when Tari refused to scratch the back of his neck.[25] There were other causes of quarrel as well. And Bura was then determined upon creating human beings that should truly and warmly serve and love him.[26] He also resolved to create out of the earth all that was necessary for man's existence. Filled with jealousy, Tari Pennu attempted to prevent the fulfilment of these purposes, but only succeeded in altering the order of creation. Taking a handful of earth, Bura Pennu threw it behind him to create man, but it was caught by Tari who cast it on one side. It was at that time that trees, herbs, and all kinds of vegetable life arose. In like

18. Hislop Papers, p. 14.
19. E T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, p. 296;
    JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 43, J E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
20. Edward B. Tylor, op. cit , p. 270;
    Ganjam Manual, p. 61.
    E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 296.
21. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 61;
    W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 92.
22. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 184.
23. Edward B. Tylor, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 270-271.
24. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.
25. Ganjam Manual, p. 62.
26. R.G. Latham, *Ethnology of India*, p. 318.

manner she intercepted, caught, and flung aside three other handfuls of earth, which became respectively the fish of the sea, the beasts of the earth, and the birds of the air. Then, having seen what his rebellious consort had done, Bura Pennu put his hand on her head, to prevent any further interference with his will, placed a fifth handful of earth on the ground, and from it was created the human race. The Goddess then placed her hands over the earth, and said, 'Let those beings you have made exist; you shall create no more'; whereupon the God caused an exudation of sweat to proceed from his body, collected it on his hand, and threw it around, saying, 'to all that I have created', whence originated love, and sex, and other species. At first the human race was sinless. It went about unclothed, and enjoying free communion with Bura. They lived in perfect harmony. But all this was changed by Tari, who 'sowed the seeds of sin into mankind as into a ploughed field' Then came the loss of innocence, which was followed by disease and death. The earth became a jungle, flowers became poisonous, and animals became savage. The God and Goddess fiercely contended for superiority over the new creation; and the supposed result of this conflict was a division in the religious belief of the Khonds. One sect—those who followed Bura Pennu-believed that he was victorious. To prove their point they alleged that the pains of child-birth had been imposed upon the sex of Tari. The other sect —those who worshipped the Goddess-believed that she was unconquered, and that although she was the source of all evils, she could confer every form of earthly benefit indirectly, but not obstructing the good which flowed from Bura, and directly, by her own act. They also believed that she appeared on the earth in a feminine form, called by them Umbally Bylee, and while under this form she introdueed order and the art of agriculture, as well all other blessings, into the world.[27]

Thus to the Bura-worshipping sect Tari Pennu stood abhorred on the bad eminence of the Evil Deity. But her own

27. Ganjam Manual, pp. 62-63.

sect, the Tari-worshipping sect, seemed to hold ideas of her nature which were more primitive and genuine. The functions which they ascribed to her, and the rites with which they propitiated her, displayed her as the Earth-mother, raised by an intensely agricultural race to an extreme height of divinity. It was she who with drops of her blood made the soft muddy ground harden into firm earth; thus men learnt to offer human victims, and the whole earth became firm; the pastures and plough fields came into use, and there were cattle and sheep and poultry for man's service; hunting began, and there were iron and ploughshares and harrows and axes; and the juice of the palm-tree; and love arose between the sons and daughters of the people, making new households, and society with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the bonds between ruler and the subject.[28]

Tari Pennu was believed to be very vindictive, and to wreak her anger upon those who neglected her worship, afflicting them with various diseases, destroying their crops, and causing them to be devoured by tigers and leopards.[29] As a malevolent deity she required constant propitiation.[30] The Khonds felt that not simply animals, but human sacrifice was demanded. They maintained that without the shedding of human blood on the ground there would be no fertility—fertility not only of crops but also of animals and mankind. Thus regular and frequent human sacrifices were offered to the Earth Goddess or Tari Pennu.[31]

The minor deities of the Khond Pantheon were the off—springs of Bura Pennu and Tari Pennu and their offices were to meet the primary wants of man-wants originating out of the introduction of evil.[32]

Danzu Pennu

Like the Sun who was worshipped in the name of Bella

28. Edward B. Tylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 271.
29. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.
30. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 43, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
31. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 8.
32. R.G. Latham, op. cit., p. 319.

Pennu, the Moon was also recognised as a God by the Khonds. They called the Moon-God Danzu Pennu.[33] No ceremonial worship was addressed to this deity, but he was adored by simple invocation upon every occasion of religion and solemnity.[34]

Sandhi Pennu

Fer the Khonds, Sandhi Pennu was the God of limits or boundaries [35] It was very much necessary to acknowledge this God, as all the clans ware hostile to each other and subsisted on hill-agriculture and hunting.[36] Sandhi Pennu was apparently to be regarded as a manifestation of the Earth Goddess. He was adored by the same rite as the great divinity; but besides the blood of human victims, that of buffaloes and of goats was acceptable to him. Particular points upon the boundaries of districts were fixed by ancient usage, and those were generally upon the highways. Those were his altars, and these demanded each an annual victim, who was either an unsuspected traveller struck down by his priests, or a Meriah provided by purchase, as for the Earth Goddess.[37]

Loha Pennu

The War God or God of Arms of the Khonds, who entered all weapons of war, who gave edge to the axe and point to the arrow, was the very personified spirit of tribal war. His token was the relic of irron and the iron weapons buried in his sacred grove which was found near each group of hamlets.[38] His name was Loha Pennu or Iron-God.[39] Loha Pennu was

33. W W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p 92.
34. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 184.
35 Campbell's Narrative, p. 162;
E.T. Dalton, op cit., p. 297.
36. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p 52.
37. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, pp. 67-68.
38. Hislop Papers, p 15;
Edward B Tylor, op. cit., Vol II pp. 307-308.
39. Campbell's Narrative, p. 162;
W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 92.

a very important deity; and no Khond God was worshipped more assiduously and devoutly.[40]

In this connection R G. Latham writes

> "In the grove sacred to Loha Pennu is buried a piece of iron, or an iron weapon. When war threatens it appears above the surface, emerges further on the eve of battle, and subsides when peace is made. Loha Pennu, however, presides only over the wars between Khonds and enemies other than Khonds, or at any rate, over those between different tribes. Quarrels within the tribe he leaves alone. The offering of a fowl, rice and arrack within the precincts of a holy grove and in the presence of the assembled warriors, precedes the invocation to Loha Pennu.
>
> "And now, when all have snatched up their arms, the priest commands silence, and recites a hymn, concluding by the words 'Arms and march'. They march, and the priest accompanies them to the enemy's boundary, over which an arrow is shot, by some one indicated by the divining sickle. Thirdly, a branch of some tree growing on the enemy's soil is cut off, and carried away to the spot where the exsertion of the iron indicates the invisible presence of Loha Pennu. Here it is clothed like one of the enemy, and, with certain invocations, thrown down on the symbol or shine of the divinity. The enemy has full time given him for the completion of similar rites.
>
> "The declaration, then, of a Khond war is a matter of no small form and ceremony. So, also, are the overtures for peace and the ratifications of treaties. When one of the two belligerent parties is weary of war, the intervention of some friendly or netural tribe is requested. If this be successful a kind of mixed commission of two old men on each side is appointed in order to ascertain the will of Loha Pennu as indicated by certain divinations. In a basket of rice an arrow is placed upright. If it remains so, war

40 Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 185;
H B Rowney, op. cit, p. 105.

proceeds, If it slant, the ceremonies that bring in peace are continued. The population makes a procession. The priest, with rice and two eggs, calls on Loha Pennu. They now fill a dish with hog's fat, and place a cotton wick in it. They light this, and if the flame be straight, the augury is for war; if not, for peace."[41]

Jugah Pennu

Jugah Pennu was the God of Small-pox. It was worshipped on all possible occasions like 'Thakurani' (Goddess of Small-pox) of the plains.[42] They used to say that 'Jugah Pennu sows Small-pox upon mankind as men sow seed upon the earth." When a village was threatened with this dreadful disease, it was deserted by all, save a few persons who remained to offer the blood of buffaloes, hogs and sheep, to the destroying power. The inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets tried to prevent approach by planting thorns along the paths which led towards the infected place.[43]

Nadzu Pennu

The village God of the Khonds was called Nadzu Pennu.[44] It was the guardian deity of every hamlet. It was the great objects of the domestic and familiar worship of the Khonds; the ruin or prosperity of villages was in his power; his aid was implored as the patron in every undertaking; and vows were made and registered to him in sickness.[46]

A stone under a cotton tree was the place of worship for Nadzu Pennu. The tree was planted when the village was founded. When the village was founded the priest used to say to the tree, "I bring you by order of Bura Pennu, who commanded us to build the village, as did also—and—and—" (naming some ten or twelve divinities). The people used to

41. R G Latham, op. cit., pp. 324-325.
42. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 98.
43. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 186.
44. Hislop Papers, p. 15.
45. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p 186.

make a feast and the tree was then planted. A day or two afterwards an animal was sacrificed.[46] Sheep, fowls, and pigs, with grain and fruit, were his offerings. The village Abbaya was his priest, but any one might minister for himself at his altar.[47]

Jakeri Pennu

In some places the village God was worshipped in the name of Jakeri Pennu.[48] In Khondmals he was believed to be the consort of the Earth-Goddess. A special sacrifice under a newly-built shed within the homestead fence was made once a year to Jakeri Pennu.[49] In Ghumsar Maliahs, during the time of offering human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess, a hog was to be sacrificed to Jakeri Pennu, the village deity.[50] But the Kuttia Khonds were in the habit of offering human sacrifices to Jakeri Pennu.[51] Later on the buffalo sacrifice took the place of the human sacrifice which was suppressed in the middle of the nineteenth century.[52]

Saru Pennu

Every hill and knoll in the Khond country had a divinity.[53] And he was called Saru Pennu.[54]. This was a divinity apparently of the same type as the Maranga Buru of the Santals and Mundas.[55] Saru Pennu was a jealous God who

46. R G. Latham, op. cit., pp. 325-326.
47. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 186.
48. SRG (India), No. V, p. 4, Russell's Report, May 11, 1837.
49. Angul Gazetteer, pp. 58-59.
50. SRG (India), No. V, p. 4, Russell's Report, Map 11, 1837; H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 1⁽5,
   * Arbuthnot mentions it in his report as God Jenkery.
51. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 10, Arbuthnot's Report, November 24, 1837.
52. R.C.S. Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput*, p. 67.
53. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 186; R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal. op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 473-474.
54 JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 43, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
55. H H Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.

did not like people to trespass on his domain.[56] The chief object of the worship which was performed in his honour in April and May was to induce him to protect, from the attacks of wild animals, those people whose business took them among the forest-clad hills and also to secure a full yield of the jungle products which the Khonds, like similar other tribes, used so largely as their food.[57] Travellers used to propitiate him by placing a handful of any edibles they might be carrying while going on the way.[58] The priests of Saru Pennu were called Dehuri.[59] The appropriate offerings were a goat and a fowl with rice and strong drink.[60] The offerings were partaken by the worshippers.[61]

The Kuttia Khonds of Koraput used to worship the mountain deity in the name of Topaka Saru. This God was believed to have lived in a big rock. In the month of Chaitra (March-April) Topaka Saru was worshipped in the Bihano Parbo. Grain and eggs were offered at any cave or rock where the divinity was believed to have dwelt. Fowls and goats were sacrificed and the blood offered to God. Then the villagers consumed their flesh.[62]

Jori Pennu

Another nature godling was the God of Streams.[63] He was called by the Khonds as Jori Pennu.[64] No special rites were observed for the worship of this God.[65]

Gossa Pennu

Another important God of the Khond Pantheon was Gossa.

56. Angul Gazetteer, p. 38.
57. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.
58. Angul Gazetteer, p. 38.
59. H H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.
60. Angul Gazetteer, pp. 38, 59.
61. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 403.
62. R C S. Bell, op. cit., p. 67.
63. JASB. Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 43, J.E Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
64. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.
65. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 187.

Pennu, the God of Forests.[66] It had a locality within the limits of every village where the following observances were paid to him, at least in the southern districts.

That timber might never be wanting in case of accidents from fire or from enemies, a considerable grove generally of dammar, was uniformly dedicated by every village to Gossa Pennu, and religiously preserved. It was consecrated by the priest, by drawing a line round it with a bamboo split at one end, and having a fowl, an offering to the God, attached to the other. The bird was then sacrificed, with the usual accompaniments of rice and an addled egg, in the centre of the grove, the names of all the other Gods being invoked after that sylvan deity. The young trees of this wood were occasionally proned, but not a twig was cut for use without the formal consent of the village, nor could the axe be applied before Gossa Pennu had been propitiated by the sacrifice of a sheep or a hog.[67]

Pidzu Pennu

The Rain God of the Khonds was Pidzu Pennu.[68] When there was a failure of the rains, the whole tribe generally met to invoke Pidzu Pennu. Quarrels were then forgotten or suspended. The men, women and children, accompanied by the loudest music, went forth.[69] The God of Rain was sought at some old appointed tree or rook.[70]

The priests and the elders propitiated Pidzu Pennu with arrack, rice, eggs and sheep, bullocks or hogs. They invoked the Rain God with quaintly pathetic prayers. They used to tell the Rain God how, if he would not give them water, the land must remain unploughed, the seed would rot in the ground, they and their children and cattle would die of wants, the deer and the wild hog would seek other haunts, and then

66. R.C Latham, op. cit., p. 319.
67. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 187.
68. E.T Dalton, op cit, p. 297.
69. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 188.
70. R G. Latham, op. cit, pp. 322-323.

of what avail would it be for him to relent, how little any gift of water would avail, when there would be left neither man, nor cattle, nor seed. So let him, resting on the sky, pour waters down upon them through his sieve, till the deer would be drowned out of the forests and would take refuge in the houses, till the soil of the mountains would be washed into the valleys, till the cooking-pots would burst with the force of the swelling rice, till the beasts would gather so plentifully in the green and favoured land, that men's axes would be blunted with cutting up the game.[71] At this time the priest also used to call other deities hoping that they would exert their influence on Rain-God.[72] While some kept up the dance without intermission, others stripped and cooked the victims which were sacrificed to Pidzu Pennu. The priest would first eat with the old men, who were in fasting from the preceding day. Then the young men would eat; and finally the women and children present there, would receive their share.[73]

Sugu Pennu or Sidruju Pennu

Sugu Pennu or Sidruju Pennu was worshipped by the Khonds as the God of Fountains.[74] When a spring dried up no divinity was the object of more-earnest prayer than this God.[75] The priest was instantly sent for by the despairing villagers, and conjured to bring back the water, with promises of all that they could command.[76] The priest plucked the cocoon of a silkworm from a bamboo tree, emptied it, and, at the dead of night, repaired, at the risk of his life to some spring, situated in a different village, or belonging to other proprietors, and tried to wile away its waters to his own dried up water course,[77] The priest remained a long time alone

71. Edward B Tylor, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 259-260
72. R G. Latham, op cit, p. 323.
73. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 188.
74. W W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93.
75. R.G. Latham, op. cit., p 326
76. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 187.
77. R.G. Latham, op. cit., p. 32?.

over the spring, muttering incantations, by which he generally prevailed with Sugu Pennu. He then filled the cocoon from the spring, and returned to the dry fountain, repeating charms as he went on, while it was believed that a stream of water followed his footsteps under ground.[78] At the well which had gone dry, the elders of the village* were waiting for the return of the priest.[79] Its basin was then cleared out and the cocoon-cup of water was placed in it. The priest then sacrificed a sheep or a hog to Sugu Pennu, who either immediately renewed the spring, or would give signs of satisfaction which would always be followed by its reappearance in a day or two.[80]

Munda Pennu

Another God of the Khonda Pantheon was Munda Pennu or the Tank God.[81] The Khonds for the purpose of irrigation carefully collected the waters of their rivulets near their sources, by means of rude weak dams, called 'Munda', and they assiduously sacrificed sheep and fowls to Munda Pennu, under the nearest tree, praying to him to preserve these embankments.[82]

Burbi Pennu

Burbi Pennu was the Goddess of Spring for the Khonds who gave them new vegetation and first fruits.[83] The Khonds used to worship Burbi Pennu at some shrine near a stone or a tree near the village where Pidzu Pennu was being worshipped.[84]

78. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, pp. 187-188.
   * The presence of women being here peculiarly fatal, while that of youths was also interdicted.
79. R.G. Latham, op. cit., p. 327.
80. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion. p. 188.
81. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.
82. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 187.
83. E.T. Dalton, op. cit , p. 297.
84. Edward B. Tylor, op. cit , Vol. II, p. 306.

Piteri Pennu

For the Khonds, the God of Increase and Gain was Piteri Pennu.[85] He was worshipped at seed time. A rude car was made of basket-work and bamboo. The priest dragged it to the head of the tribe that took precedence, and obtained from him a little of each kind of seed and some feathers. Having made a circuit of the village with a like object, the car was then accompanied to some appointed field by the young men of the village, beating each other and the air with sticks. The seed thus carried out was the share of the evil spirits, who were held to be driven out with the car. Next day a hog was killed, and Piteri Pennu was invoked. After this the hog was eaten; only, however, by the elders; for the young men went afield with the car. They had, however, their revenge for their exclusion, and waylay the feasters on their return, pelting them with jungle fruit. On the third day the head of the chief tribe sowed his seed, after which the rest also might do so.[86]

It was believed by the Khonds that long long ago Piteri Pennu, Burbi Pennu and Pidzu Pennu delivered the seeds of all useful plants; they taught them to clear the jungle by slash and burn methods, and they taught them to make ploughs, to yoke oxen, and to know the seasons and also to suit the various seeds to the various soils and slopes.[87]

Pilamu Penna

Pilamu Pennu was the God of Hunting for the Khonds.[88] He was to show the Khonds how to do hunting with slings, bows and arrows, and axe; also to lay down rules and rituals for it.[89] When a hunting party was formed, the Khonds always required the priest to propitiate the God of Hunting. He piled the weapons of the huntsmen by a rivulet water over them with a handful of long grass, and sacrificed a fowl to

85. E.T. Dalton, op. cit.. p. 297.
86. R.G. Latham, op. cit. p., 323.
87. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 51.
88. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.
89. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 51.

the God, who, if propitious enabled him to indicate the direction in which the chase was to be pursued, and occasionally to devote so many wild hogs, hares and the like to fall.[90] Further the Hill-God of the hunting region had to be propitiated with the promise of a sacrifice before his territory was entered, or as the Khonds believed, he would hide the animals within it from the hunter, and enable them to escape when wounded.[91]

Gari Pennu

The God of Births was called Gari Pennu by the Khonds.[92] When the birth of a child did not take place at the expected time, the priest was immediately put on requisition, as on every other conceivable occasion of doubt or difficulty amongst the Khonds. He used to take the woman to the place of confluence of two streams, sprinkle water over her, and make an offering to the deity. When any animal became devoid of fertility, the same God was invoked.[93]

Dinga Pennu

Some Khonds used to worship Dinga Pennu,* the judge of the Dead which was very much alike to Yama of the Hindu religion.[94] Dinga Pennu dwelt in the region beyond the sea, where the sun used to rise, upon a rock called Grippa Valli (the Leaping Rock). It was smooth and slippery, 'like a floor covered with mustard seeds; and deep, dark river flowed

90. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 188.
91. R.V Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 474.
92. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 92-93.
93 Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, pp. 188-189.

* In S.C. Macpherson's first essay on the religion of the Khonds read before the Royal Asiatic Society on the 20th November 1841, there is no reference to Dinga Pennu. The name first appears in the second essay, which was published in Part-II, Vol. XIII, of the Journal of Royal Asiatie Society. It was clearly an after-thought. The belief in this God was also very limited and probably due to Hindu influence from the plains or by Oriya settlers, for the word was only known on the eastern edge of the Ghumsar Ghats.

94. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 297.

around it. Immediately upon death, the souls of men made desperate leaps to secure a footing on this rock. Hence its name. Some of these leaps succeeded but the greater part failed, in which case the limbs might be broken, or the eyes knocked out by the attempt, and when this happens, the deformity thereby caused is communicated to the body next animated.[95] Upon Grippa Valli sits Dinga Pennu writing in a register of all men's daily lives and actions, sending virtuous souls to become blessed spirits, keeping back wicked ones and sending them to suffer their penalties in new births on earth.[96]

In Kalahandi, as writes C. Elliot, Deputy Commissioner of Raipur in 1856, the Khonds called the Judge of the Dead Dhurma and the offerings to him usually consisted of arrack and animals like fowls, sheep and buffaloes.[97]

Local Divinities

The Khonds Pantheon also embraced some local and minor divinities, some of whom seemed to represent the worship of those still earlier races whom the Khonds had reduced to servile castes.[98] S.C. Macpherson gives the number of these second class deities as eleven.[99]

Pitabaldi

The chief among these local or minor divinities was Pitabaldi, literally signifying 'Great Father God'. This deity was worshipped in Chokapaud, Hodzoghoro, Ogdur, and Nowsagur; while in the western and southern Khond districts his name was unknown.[100] His symbol was a stone smeared with turmeric under some lofty forest tree.[101] The Khonds

95. R.G. Latham, op. cit., p. 320.
96. Edward B. Tylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 92.
97. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 201.
98. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.
99. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 61.
100. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 189.
101. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 93.

believed that a rift was marked at the place where the deity from time to time issued from, or returned into the earth.[102]

Pitabaldi was given offerings twice a year, once at seed time, the other at harvest. Those offerings consisted of a goat or a few fowls, milk, turmeric, rice, ghee, and incense, while buffaloes were occasionally sacrificed. The blood of the victim was partly spilt on the rice of the offering, partly allowed to sink into the soil, where the rift was supposed to have existed.[103]

Bandri Pennu

Bandri Pennu was another local deity who enjoyed great influence in the district of Nowsagur in the State of Daspalla. Here he was manifested in a material form, and had a temple.[104] Its material was neither gold, nor silver, nor wood, nor iron, nor stone, nor any other known substance.[105] Bandri Pennu was worshipped with similar rites as observed for Pitabaldi.[106]

Bahman Pennu and Bahmundi Pennu

Bahman Pennu, apparently the Brahman God, and Bahmundi Pennu were honoured in the districts to the eastward of the great table land, where the Khonds had perhaps been most exposed to impressions from Hinduism. The rites were similar to those performed for Pitabalbi. Bahmundi Pennu was also worshipped in Tenteliaghor. According to the local tradition, there existed a Hindu city in Chokapaud founded by Ramachandra on his return from Lanka, where these deities were chiefly adored.[107]

Dungari Pennu

Dungari Pennu seemed to represent what might be called

102. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.
103. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 189.
104. Ibid p. 190.
105. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 93.
106. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 190.
107. Ibid.

the worship of the status quo.[108] Once a year the devotees assembled and with copious outpourings of blood upon a lofty mountain, implored the God that they might remain exactly in the state of their forefathers, and that their children after them might live exactly as themselves.[109] The God was to be propitiated by the sacrifice of buffaloes, goats and pigs. However, this deity was worshipped only in Hodzoghoro and Tenteliaghor.[110]

Singa Pennu

Singa Pennu, another lesser deity worshipped generally in Ogdur, resembled the ancient type of the God of Destruction.[111] He rose from the earth in the form of a piece of iron.[112] The habits of this God were destructive because of which he was worshipped with fear and terror.[113] If he were placed under a tree, then the tree would die. If he were placed in water, it would dry up. His priest could not expect to survive in his service the term of four yars, while he could not decline the fearful office.[114] By 1841, Macpherson found a temple which was then very recently constructed at Ogdur for the worship of Singa Pennu.[115]

Among the Khonds the Tiger-God was also believed to be the God of Destruction, who would only kill and waste.[116] A moss-grown rock on the hill of Koladah in Ghumsar, which bore a rude natural resemblance to a man seated on a tiger, had been from the remotest antiquity an object of veneration. The Raja of Ghumsar built a temple near the spot, and placed within it the image of a man and a tiger. This idol remained

108. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol XIX, p. 233.
109. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 93.
110. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, pp. 190-191.
111. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.
112. Macpherson's Acconnt of Khhnd Religion, p. 191.
113. JOH, Vol. X, June 1990, p. 36, N R. Patnaik's 'Some Reflections on the Religious Life in Nineteenth Century Orissa';
114. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 94.
115. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 191.
116. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 233.

entirely unnoticed, while the Khonds continued to regard the rude natural image with unabated reverence. In the year 1815, however, when a British force took possession of Koladah, a party of Sepoys chanced to bivouack in the temple. A muslim Sepoy scornfully pricked the nose of the tiger with his bayonet. 'Blood' said the Khonds, 'flowed from the wound, and a pestilence wasted the British camp'. It proved that their divinity had transferred his presence from his ancient hill to the new Hindu shrine.[117]

Domosinghiani, Patarghar, Pinjai, Kankali and Bulinda Silenda

The remaining five of these lesser deities as mentioned by S.C. Macpherson were styled-Domosinghiani, Patarghar, Pinjai, Kankali and Bulinda Silenda.[118]

Domosinghiani was the tutelary God of the district of Domosinghi and the Abbayas were his priests. Patarghar and Pinjai were the names of places, probably Ghats in the tracts, in which the deities so designated were recognised. Kankali and Bulinda Silenda were the local Gods of the district of Punchora.[119]

Other local deities

In Nayagarh State, the Khonds used to worship their village Goddesses known as Sulias Brahmandei, Sitala and Tarkei. In the event of a villager being killed by a tiger or a leopard, the idol was, however, thrown away and replaced by another and the priest also was dismissed.[120]

There were also some village demons to be worshipped by the Khonds[121] In Khondmals, for example, the tutelary demon of the village was called Gram Seni, the demon of the refuse heap Turki Pennu and the demon of the dung-hill Goberi

117. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 192.
118. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 61.
119. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, pp. 192-193.
120. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 264.
121. Angul Gazetteer, p. 39.

Pennu.[122]

The worship of the spirits of the dead ancestors, relations, and friends was a striking and important feature of the Khond religion.[123] The more distinguished fathers of the tribe, or its branches, or of its subdivision were remembered by the priests, their sanctity growing with the remoteness of the period of their deaths, they were involved in endless array, after the Gods who were universally worshipped at every religious festival. Distinction was generally achieved amongst the Khonds, either by the conquest of land from the waste, or by success in battle. These dead ancestors were, in consequence, chiefly invoked to give prosperity to the labours in the field, and victory to the arms of their descendants. These spirits were propitiated upon every occasion of public worship whatever.[124]

Adoption of Hindu Goddesses

A considerable portion of Khond tribes used to worship Hindu Goddesses.[125] The Aryan invaders who had settled amidst the Khond tribes and the neighbouring Hindus had in course of time adopted and worshipped some of the tribal Goddesses in order to enjoy their confidence and cooperation.[126] Simultaneously, in the same manner the Khonds also, under Hindu influence, imported some deities from the Hindu Pantheon.[127] On the other hand there can be little doubt that the races and tribes of Orissa encouraged each other for the worship of their own Gods and Goddesses more particularly in the worship of terror.[128]

122. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 43, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.
123. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, 189;
JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 43, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khond'.
124. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 189.
125. A.V. Thakkar, *Tribes of India*, p. 180.
126. A.K. Rath, *Studies on some aspects of the History and Culture of Orissa* (Calcutta, 1987), p. 101.
127. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 60.
128. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 94.

The Khond tribes used to worship the Hindu Goddess Parvati or Kali in their tribal names such as Bhadrawallu, Bhairavi and Komeswari.[129] About the adoption of this Hindu deity W.W. Hunter writes, "It may readily be supposed that a race accustomed to the terrors of such a Deity, would with fear and trembling adopt the Hindu Goddess of Destruction, with her appalling rites".[130] However bloody rites were observed by the Khonds in the worship of Kali.[131] Her ordinary offerings were buffaloes, goats and fowls.[132] But in many cases the Goddess was adored by the rite of human sacrifice.[133]

Similarly, the Hindu Goddess Durga was also imported to the Khond Pantheon. MacViccar in his account of 1850-51 mentioned thus : "The blood-thirsty Doorgah, the dread personification of malevolence, is the deity propitiated by the Khonds under infinitely diversified forms and names; and when this deity is obliged to accept, as at the Doorgah Poojah of the plains, the blood of beasts, the evil of human sacrifice is at an end, although their religion has undergone no change."[134]

At Balaskumpa of Khondhmals there was a deity named Bararaul which was worshipped by both Khonds and Oriya natives. She could be identified with Goddess Durga of Orissa proper.[135] This semi-Hinduized deity was quite distinct from the animistic godlings or demons of the Khonds; and was worshipped at the time of Durga Puja with a sacrifice of buffaloes. About this Bararaul J.E, Friend-Pereira further writes "The Bara Rawal Thakurani seems to be the Hindu tribal deity of the Khond septs in the highlands of the Khond Mals and that part of Gumsar which formerly belonged to

129. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 193.
130. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 94.
131. Hislop Papers, p 16.
132. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 74.
133. SRG (Madras), Jepore, No. LXXXI, p. 32, McNeill's Report, June 11, 1861;
Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 193.
134. SRG (India), No. V, p. 119, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.
135. Angul Gazetteer, p. 131.

Bod; and it is more than probable that the king of Bod founded the worship of this Hindu idol among the Khonds as a means of increasing his authority and consolidating his power over the unruly tribesmen who owned only a nominal allegiance."[136]

In Khondmals another Goddess was worshipped like the Hindu deity Durga in the name of 'Panthi Durga Ma'.[137] But J.E. Friend-Pereira opines that although it bore a Hindu name, Panthi Durga Ma was a purely animist Goddess which was not represented by an idol.[138]

Goddess Durga was also worshipped in the name of 'Manikeswari' by both Khonds and Oriyas.[139] Before any enterprise the Hindu Chiefs of the Khond tracts used to propitiate this Goddess.[140]

Religious Customs and Rituals

According to the Khond beliefs, among their deities Bura and Tari alone used to dwell in heaven ; Dinga resides on a rock.[141] The other Gods of the Khonds live exclusively upon earth.[142] Within it, they are believed to reside, emerging and retiring at will by chinks which are occasionally discovered by their worshippers.[143] But they could be seen by the lower animals.[144] Further these Gods could assume earthly forms at pleasure. The Earth Goddess, for example, could adopt that of the tiger as emblematic of her nature, or as convenient for purposes of wrath.[145]

136 JASB, Vol LXXIII, No 3, 1904, p 42, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.

137. Angul Gazetteer, p. 39.

138. JASB, Vol. LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 42, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.

139. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 20, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya Khond population of Orissa';
and Vizagapatam Manual, p ?8.

140. Hislop Papers, p 16.

141. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 92;
Edward B. Tylor, op. cit., p. 92.

142. E.T. Dalton, op cit., p. 298.

143. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 197.

144. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 293.

145 Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 197.

Generally there were no temples or houses for worship. All ceremonies were performed in the open air, in the presence of assembled multitudes; or in solitary retired spots, such as groves and jungles.[146] But S.C. Macpherson in his visits to the Khond tracts found four rude temples. One was at Boropall for the worship of Bandri Pennu; the second one was at Ogdur for worshipping Singa Pennu; the third one was devoted to Pitabaldi which was located in Chokapaud and the fourth temple was in Borgutza which was vacant in honour of the God. No other Khond temples were found by Macpherson either in Ghumsar, Baud, or Daspalla.[147]

But each Khond village had at least one place where they used to worship their Gods.[148] There were either a small heap of stones or wood.[149] A log of wood was sometimes rudely fashioned after the manner of some animal's head, and was only used on the occasion of the immolation of a human victim.[150] John Campbell writes about the images thus, "Sacred images of the most barbarous type are to be found in most villages, and of these the priests can give no intelligible account".[151] But Macpherson mentions that the Khonds did not use images. In fact the Khonds had no images as in the case of Hindu deities.

Two great religious ceremonies were performed yearly, one at sowing and the other at harvest time.[152] The ordinary ritual in offering a sacrifice to any of the deities was to invoke all the deities—Sun God, Earth Goddess, the nature godlings, the village demons, the tutelary God of the community, and the manes of ancestors and friends.[153] In Khondmals, the

146. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 59, A Duff's 'Goomsur; the Late war there—the Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
147. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 191.
148. Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 9.
149. Compbell's Narrative, p. 165;
Barbara M. Boal, *Fire is Easy*, p. 9.
150. Campbell's Narrative, p. 165.
151. Campbell's Narrative, p. 163.
152. Angul Gazetteer, p. 58.
153. JASB, Vol LXXIII, No. 1904, p, 54, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.

Khonds used to worship their ancestors once in a year when the paddy was reaped, but no sacrifice was offered to female or childless ancestors, or to those who had met a violent death.[154]

Khond Priesthood

Priesthood forms a distinguished feature of the Khond religion. The Khond priesthood, like every other priesthood, owes its claim to divine institution.[155] Originally each deity of every tribe was believed to have appointed a minister by whom he was recognized,[156] The office that he held was hereditary, descending usually but not necessarily, to the eldest son.[157] At the same time any man who could succeed in winning the faith of his neighbours might set up on the strength of a dream or a vision as a priest.[158] A priest might lay aside his post at pleasure.[159] It is for this reason that the Khond priesthood was not found to have developed any tendency to form a separate caste.[160]

As the Khond Pantheon consisted of native and imported deities, their priesthood was composed of both aboriginal and Hindu priests.[161] However, the priesthood of Khond descent conducted exclusively the worship of Tari Pennu, and generally that of other deities whom they worshipped.[162] The Hindu priests were employed in the service of their imported deities such as Kali and Durga.[163]

154. Angul Gazetteer, p 60.
155 Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 193.
156. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 58, A Duff's Goomsur; the Late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
157. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 75;
JOH, Vol. X, June 1990, p. 36, N.R. Patnaik's 'Some Reflections on the Religious Life in Nineteenth Century Orissa'.
158. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
159 Vizagapatam Manual, p. 94.
160. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 58, A Duff's 'Goomsur;
The Late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
161. W.W Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 94.
162. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, pp. 193-194.
163. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 75.

The nomenclature of the priests differed from place to place. In Ghumsar and the northern part of Baud the priests of the Khonds were called 'Kuttagottaru' or 'Sorumba'.[164] In the western district he was styled as 'Jackora' or 'Jackeri'.[165] The sacrificial priest was called 'Jauni' or 'Jani', who was also the priest of the Earth Goddess.[166] The priests employed in the service of local deities and Kali were called 'Dehuris'.[167]

Every Khond village had its own priest.[168] The Khond priest was separated from the rest of the community in some respects. He might not eat with laymen nor partake of food prepared by their hands. But this rule did not extend to the liquor cup, of which he might partake freely at feasts, nobody presuming to drink till he has set the example.[169] But his family did not share in this restriction.[170] Further, a Khond priest was debarred from participation in battles.[171] He could not bear arms in any case. When war was undertaken with enemies of a different race, he first invoked Tari Pennu and then Loha Pennu. When the contest was between Khond tribes, he made an offering to the latter deity alone.[172]

The Khond priests used to officiate in both human and animal sacrifices.[173] In case of animal sacrifice, the priest enjoyed the prerogative of taking meat first and tasting the drink before others did so.[174] In many cases the priests were very ignorant. They lived on the superstitions of the

164. Ibid.
165. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 194;
Angul Gazetteer, p. 63.
166. Maddox Report, Vol. I, p. 151;
H.B Rowney, op. cit., p. 105.
167. Madras Presidency Manual, Vol. I, p. 72;
Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 75.
H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol I, p. 403.
168. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
169. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 93.
170. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 75.
171. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 95.
172. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 194.
173. H.B. Rowney op. cit., p. 105.
174. Ganjam Manual, p. 70.

villagers.[175] They were believed to have possessed magical arts.[176] One of the chief duties of a priest was to discover, by certain mystic arts, the cause of malady he might be called upon to cure, which he usually attributed to the displeasure of some deity, or of some ancestor ungratified by food and honours, or in the magical arts of an enemy whom the patient had offended.[177] They had the power of throwing themselves or feigning to throw themselves into a state of hypnotic trance, and were supposed to be able to cure diseases by touching people, trying them up with bits of thread, and similar memory.[178] Of course they were generally versed in the knowledge of a few medicinal herbs.[179]

The presence of the Khond priest at the marriage feast was necessary as he was the person who could prevent injury to the parties by the magical arts of evildoers.[180] He also used to officiate at the marriage ceremony as prevalent among the Deshiya Khonds.[181] The priest also remained present on the occasion of the birth, or the naming of a child, where he had to decide as to which ancestor of the family had been born again.[182] The priest was a guest at funeral feasts, and at all other domestic ceremonies.[183] He also used to invoke the ghost of the dead man and place a portion of the feast for him on the path at the end of the village.[184]

The priests had no special endowments in any form. They had only honourable places at all public and private festivals.[185] In addition to it, they enjoyed some perquisites of some value at certain ceremonies, and occasional harvest

175 Vizagapatam Manual, p. 98.
176. Hislop Papers, p. 19.
177. Campbell's Narrative, p. 165;
Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 75.
178. H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol I, p. 403.
179. Angul Gazetteer, p. 63.
180. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 195.
181. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit , p. 68.
182. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 75.
183. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p 195.
184. R C.S. Bell op. cit., p. 68.
185. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 195.

offerings.[186] They were paid by those who employed them, or they received gifts from the community when religious ceremonies were conducted by it.[187] They used to receive a piece of new cloth, subscribed by the villagers, whenever they were employed at sacrificial rite.[188]

However, with the passage of time the Khonds did not feel to attach much importance to priesthood.[189] Only one priest remained to worship their chief deity, with the result that other priests started trading in magical arts and incantations.[190] Even towards the later part of the nineteenth century, T.E.Ravenshaw in his notes mentioned that by that time the original occupation of the Khond priest was not there.[191]

Influence of Religion Upon the Society

Religion played an important role in the social life of the Khonds. The social laws, customs and rites of their society were well connected with their religion.

Religion in general contributes to the operation of society through the power and authority and sacred meaning which it used to provide to the support of man's conduct and his understanding of his place in universe.[192] The Khonds were no exception to it.

In Khond society, the neglect of prescribed ordinances alone was offensive, their observance alone pleasing to the Gods; and presented no view relative to the future destiny of man, except that he had an imperishable spirit which animated an endless succession of human forms, and generally in the order of direct descent. Fear, the apprehension of evil, was its

186 Vizagapatam Manual, pp. 93-94.
187. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
188. Angul Gazetteer, p. 63.
189. N.R. Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p, 29.
190. W.W. Hunter, *Orissa*, Vol. II, pp. 94-95.
191. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 295.
192. Margaret Park Redfied (Ed.), *Human Nature and the Study of Society* (The Papers of Robert Redfied), Chicago, 1962), Uol I, p. 434.

predominating idea. The attributes of the supreme or greatest power were purely malevolent.[193]

In Khond society, the violation of an oath was believed to be invariably punished by divine wrath; although their ideas respecting these sanctions were not free from casuistry. Macpherson during his visit found a tribe of a district in which one half of the population had perished a few years before by Small-pox; and the misfortune was entirely attributed to its infraction of an ancient compact confirmed by an oath with a neighbouring zamindar. When the visitation ceased, the oath was humbly and solemnly renewed. It was in all cases imperative to tell the truth.[194]

The denial of a debt was a breach of this principle which was held to be highly sinful. "Let a man", said the Khonds, "give up all he has to his creditor, and beg a sheep to begin the world with; and by the favour of the Gods he shall prosper. Let him have flocks and herds, and deny a just debt, and not a single sheep shall remain to him" The denial of a gift, or of any onerous engagement whatever, was equally offensive to the Gods and was a very rare occurrence amongst the Khonds.[195]

The Khonds used to believe that the first duty which the Gods had imposed upon them was that of hospitality. Persons guilty of the neglect of established observances were punished by divine wrath, either during their current lives, or when they returned afterwards to animate other bodies; and the penalties were death, poverty, disease, and loss of children, and every other form of calamity.[196]

The Khonds believed that death was not the necessary lot of man, but it was incurred only as a special penalty for offences against the Gods; and this, either through ordinary means,—as by a wound received in battle,—or through the agency of men who were gifted by the Gods with power to destroy, as by transforming themselves into wild beasts or by

193. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 77.
194. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 196.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid.

magiciads, who had acquired the power to destroy life by impious arts, purely human.[197]

All the system of Khonds' religious belief acted as a strong and fruitful principle of association. Participation in the public worships and contribution to the charges of their ceremonial, were the first conditions of association in a tribe, applicable even to strangers of a different race and faith. And the bond of a common altar and a distinctive worship was seen to survive the blended ties which arose from community of institutions, of manners, of traditions and of language.[198]

The festival of the Earth Goddess tended to maintain a sense of unity among the Khond tribes. The practice of human sacrifice did not appear to exert upon the character of this rude people an influence so eminently unfavourable to humanity as it had dane in the case of some other races of mankind.

Furthermore, amongst the Khonds, the sacrifice of human life was combined with the gratification of no anti-social or ferocious passion, although it was accompanied by indulgence in the worst form of sensual excess. The rite was discharged with feelings almost purely religious, in fearful obedience to the express mandate of the terrible power whose wrath it was believed to place in abeyance.[199]

The Khond priesthood being separated in no respect from the community, being dispersed everywhere throughout it, and participating upon equal grounds in all its interests and engagements, was obviously in a highly favourable position for the acquisition of power; and its influence as a body of interpreters of the will of the deity, of mediators between him and man, and of adepts in magical arts was great.[200]

The civil and religious heads of tribes, although some districts were vexed by their rivalry, generally acted in concert; for while the former desired to strengthen their hands as temporal rulers with the aid of superstition, the latter aimed at

197. Ibid. p. 197.
198. Ibid. pp. 197-198.
199. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 78.
200. Macherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 199.

influencing them through alliance with the secular authority. When the place of an Abbaya, whose race had become extinct, was to be supplied by popular election, the community was almost uniformly guided in its choice by the Kuttagottaru, who did not omit upon such occasions to consult, with vigils and fasting, the will of the deity. And when in the public council a priest of venerable age and character used to demand, "will men not listen to those to whom God listens?" the appeal was rarely resisted.[201]

Thus among the aboriginal people like the Khonds, religion played a conspicuous role. The origin and growth of their religion were undoubtedly conditioned by the background of the struggle for existence in an insecure physical and social environment with all its attendant fears. The Khonds worshipped all degrees of deities from their own tribal Bura Pennu down to the orthodox Hindu Goddess Kali or Durga. In the Khond Pantheon there were three types of deities having various degrees of power—the deities which were universally accepted; local deities, and the deities imported from the Hindu Pantheon. Generally, the Khonds worshipped no images and built no temples. The stream, the grove, the rock, the glen, with the sky above them, constituted the Khond shrines. There was a priest in each village who had no official privileges or endowments. Generally there were two classes of priests—one exclusively priestly, the other was free to do anything but fight. The Khonds' religion exerted profound influence upon their society and culture. With primitive characteristics this distinctive religion proved to be a binding thread to keep their age-old institutions, traditions, manners and language in tact.

201. Ibid.

5

Meriah Sacrifice and Its Suppression

Human sacrifice was a horrid practice which prevailed among one section of the Khonds of India. It was primarily based on socio-religious customs. Since the Khonds called the victim Meriah, this practice was popularly known as Meriah sacrifice or simply Meriah. And it was at the British intervention that Meriah sacrifice was finally suppressed in the later half of the 19th century. Since it was localised in different places, a place-wise resume of its occurrence and suppression has been given below.

Meriah was not a Khond term, although it was derived from the Khond word 'Mervi', which was taken from Mrivi Pennu, their Goddess.[1] Subsequently the term was adopted into Oriya language as Meriah.

Meriah sacrifice was known to have prevailed extensively in a wide tract including Ghumsar, Baud, Daspalla, Chinna Kimedy, Maji Deso,* Patna, Kalahandi and Jeypore,** Besides the Meriah, human sacrifice was also known to have prevailed among other tribes namely Coles, Santals, Gonds and Bhuiyas.[2] The Brinjaries, a trading community of Jeypore of Orissa in their camps used to offer human victims to

1. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 114.

* Maji Deso was situated midway between Baud and Patna, connected with Chinna Kimedy and Kalahandi.

** See the map of Meriah Tract in Appendix—'B'.

2. E.T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, pp. 147, 281;

(*Contd.*)

Goddess Kali and it was generally performed at the beginning and the completion of each of their undertakings.[3] Even the more enlightened people of the plains used to sacrifice human beings to please some imaginary spirits.[4] Some Rajas of Orissa also performed such sacrifices. The Rajas of Jeypore did it to propitiate their Goddess Manikeswari.[*5] Similarly, the Rajas of Ranpur used to offer human victims to their presiding deity Maninag.[6]

Origin of the Meriah Sacrifice

The origin of Meriah sacrifice among the Khonds can be traced in their legendary accounts.

The earth, the Khonds believed, was originally a crude and unstable mass unfit for the comfortable habitation of man. It was not conducive for cultivation as well. Then the Earth God ordered to split human blood before him and the Khonds complied with this demand by sacrificing a child. Then the soil became firm and productive forthwith. There are deity ordained man to repeat the rite and live.[7] This was how Meriah sacrifice is supposed to have originated. In course of time it became a deep-seated religious faith. They placed

(*Contd*)

Mayurbhanj Records, pp. 317-318, H. Ricketts, Magistrate, Balasore to Captain T. Wilkinson, Political Agent, South West Frontier, Hazarrebaug, December 23, 1834:
H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol II, p 233;
JBORS, Vol. XII, Part-I, March 1926, p. 153;
Verrier Elwin, *Maria Murder and Suicide* (Oxford University Press, 1943), pp. 71-74.

3. Meriah Reports, p. 63, MacViccar's Report, May 21, 1855; Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 92.
4. N. Senapati (Ed.), *Gaztteers of India, Orissa, Sundergarh* (Government of Orissa, 1975), p. 101;
P. Mukherjee, *Histry of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. 292.
* Manikeswari was the presiding deity of the Raja of Jeypore. It was rubby or blood-red Goddess.
5. Vizagapatam Manual, pp. 88-89.
6. Jagannath Patnaik, *Odissa Itihasare Ketoti Romanchakar Kahani* (In Oriya, Cuttack, 1990), p. 45.
7. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 235.

trust in the efficacy of the sacrifice for their own good.[8] The Khonds used to believe that where the human sacrifice had not been offered, there the ground was still raw and infested with ghosts and evil spirits.[9]

There was yet another legend behind the origin of the practice. The Khonds believed that in the beginning of creation there was one Supreme Being, Bura Pennu, whose consort was the Earth Goddess, Tari Pennu. Tari Pennu became a source of all evils. While walking on the earth with her, Bura Pennu got angry when she refused to scratch the back of his neck. So he was determined to create out of the earth another living being in the form of man who would pay him utmost homage. He was also determined to create all that was necessary for man's existence. Tari Pennu grew jealous at this and made an attempt to prevent the fulfilment of such determinations of Bura Pennu and partially succeeded in altering the order of creation. While he was throwing four handfuls of earth to create man. Tari caught them all and threw one of them to one side, whence arose trees, herbs and all kinds of vegetable plants. She also threw three other handfuls of earth to three different sides where the fish of the sea, the beasts of the earth, and the birds of the air respectively came into existence. Having seen this rebellious work of his own consort, Bura Pennu put his hand on her head so as to prevent her from further interference with his will. Then he threw a fifth handful of earth on the ground, and from it was created the human race. Then Tari Pennu placed her hands over the earth, so that he would create nothing further. However, the human race created by Bura Pennu was sinless and innocent. Perfect harmony was maintained among men and man enjoyed free communion with Bura. But Tari became angry. So she

8. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2784G), Madras Government, Inspector General of Madras Police to Chief Secretary to Government, January 24, 1886, No. 205;
JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, p. 5, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
9 JASB, Vol. 3, LXXIII, No. 3, 1904, p. 48, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Totemism among the Khonds'.

sowed the seeds of sin in the human race. No more could they remain innocent. They suffered from disease and death. Thereafter the earth became a jungle, flowers turned poisonous and animals grew savage. So both the God and the Goddess entered into a fierce conflict among themselves for exercising their superiority over this new creation. Thereafter were created two sects, one following Bura Pennu in the belief that he was victorious, and as punishment gave the pains of child-birth to the entire sex of Tari, while the other believed that Tari was victorious and retained the power to give all sorts of earthly benefits to mankind. They further believed that the same Tari Pennu had been moving on the earth in the form of Umbally Bylee who had introduced the art of agriculture and such other blessings into the world order. This Umbally Bylee cut her finger accidentally one day while slicing vegetables. Then the drops of blood fell on the soft, barren earth which instantly became firm and green. "Behold the good change", exclaimed Umbally, "cut up my body to complete it". But the Khonds declined to do so. Instead they resolved to purchase human beings and sacrifice them so as to fulfil her wish. And that they did and got the benefit. At first its benefit was confined to those who did it, but afterwards when Tari ordered that all mankind should do it to get the benefits it became public.[10] Thus the human sacrifice appears to have originated from the inordinate belief of the Khonds in the worship of the Earth Goddess Tari Pennu who was considered malevolent.[11] And she was to be propitiated. Essentially an agricultural people, the Khonds wished to do it for the increase of their agricultural productions. That was because they considered the Earth Goddess as the most powerful and solemn symbol of the productive energy of nature.[12] Upon her depended the facundity of the

10. Macpherson's Memorials, pp. 135-136;
Edward B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. II, p. 271;
Ganjam Manual, pp. 62-63.
11. R.G. Latham, *Ethnogy of India*, p, 328;
E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 286.
12. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, pp. 234-235.

soil and the consequent growth of agricultural produce. As such she was believed to have retained the power of fulfilling the wants and fears of an agricultural population such as controlling the seasons and causing the periodical rains.[13] They also believed that turmeric, one of their chief products on which their very economy was based, would not have a deep red colour without the shedding of blood.[14] Furthermore the preservation of the patriarchal houses, the health of the population, the safety of their flocks and herds and their attendants were also believed to have been the work of Tari Pennu.* Thus they wanted that each agricultural farm was to be tinged with the blood of a human victim.[15]

Similarly Kotya Kodulu of the south used to offer human sacrifices to their God Jenkery with a view to securing good crops.[16]

There was yet another plausible theory of the origin of Meriah sacrifice. The Khonds had learnt it from the Rajas who were known to have offered human sacrifices to their deities. Regarding its origin among the Rajas there was also another account as is known from the paper read by Captain J.P. Frye on Khonds in the Royal Asiatic Society in March 1858. The account was one of Raja Pratap Rudra Dev of Puri who was blessed with one illegitimate and eighteen legitimate sons. In obedience to a divine command, he nominated the illegitimate son as his heir. So in protest, the legitimate sons left the estate in quest of new possessions. Of them one Bhimo Deo, while on his journey, met a man who was squeezing tadi from a date-palm tree. On inquiry the

13. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 178.
14. J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion*, Vol. I, p. 503.

* Behind the human sacrifice practised by the Hukawang Valley Nagas lay the same reason. It was for curing diseases, supplying vitality to sick persons and fertilizing their fields for successful crops that they performed such sacrifices. (JAS, Vol. XVII, No. 1, 1951, p. 30, B S. Guha's 'The Indian aborigines and their administration'.)

15. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 62.
16. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 11, Arbuthnot's Report, November 27, 1837.

man learnt that he was a prince in distress. So the man wished to give him his due. With this intention the man took him on his shoulders to a place where per chance eight chieftains had assembled in a council to find out a prince to rule over them. They gladly received their much-awaited prince and made him the head of a small tract in Kimedy which was thus designated as 'Eight Mallikas'. However while being carried on the shoulders, the prince made a vow to offer a human sacrifice to some chosen Goddess, if he were placed somewhere. After its accomplishment he was in search of a Goddess before whom he would make a sacrifice. Meanwhile he chanced to go to Kalahandi which he subdued. There he came across a deity named 'Manikeswari', whom he took as his 'Ishta Devi'. So he made a human sacrifice before her. Then he proceeded southwards and established a dynasty in Kimedy. With him he took the deity which he enshrined in his new capital.[17]

There was yet another theory concerning the origin of Meriah sacrifice, he Khonds might have borrowed this concept from Hinduism.[18] Human sacrifice was not uncommon in the pre-Aryan tradition and "gradually it was incorporated", writes E.O. James "in the Vedic religion under Brahmanic influence, though it was permitted only with considerable hesitation and often with distaste as an excrescence derived from the Dravidian heritage and its aboriginal substratum."[19]* Continuing further he writes, "It was around the Mother Goddess in her manifold forms and modes of personification,

17. JRASGBI, Vol. XVII, 1859-60, pp. 21-23, J.P. Frye's 'On the Uriya and Kondh Population of Orissa'.
18. James Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, p. 190.
19. E O James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament* p. 103.

* One remarkable legend in the Brahmans embalms a tradition of human sacrifice. The table of Harichandra tells how the king was cured of his leprosy by the purchase of Sunahsephas, who was to be offered as a sacrifice to appease the wrath of Varuna. The boy, when led to the stake, prays to the Gods for deliverance, they loose him from the bonds and cure the King's disease (Herbert Risley, George Grierson, William Crooke, *The Ethnology, Languages, Literature and Religions of India*, p. 123).

especially in Bengal and Madras, that human blood flowed in torrents to avert evil, remove disease and other calamities."[20] However, it is certain that human sacrifice had prevailed among the Aryans, in the form of 'Naramedha'.[21] And the Khonds might have picked up the practice from them.

Thus it is to be seen that Meriah sacrifice among the Khonds originated from their superstitious belief in keeping the Earth Goddess in a pleased state of mind by propitiating her with most valuable sacrifices, lest she should cause failure in rain leading to the destruction of crops and such other calamities. And for this they considered human blood as the most precious offering.

Nature of the Sacrifices

The sacrifices of the Khonds were not mere sacrifices, plain and simple, and performed at any time. Those were accompanied by certain rituals and classified as public and private. While the former was offered by a tribe, a subdivision, or a village, the latter was offered by the individuals.[22] There were also fixed timings for the purpose.

The public sacrifices to the Earth Goddess were mostly arranged as cereal offerings when they sprinkled blood in their fields twice a year, once at the time of sowing, and again after the harvest.[23] They did it at the earlier occasion for their belief that the process of fertilisation would be facilitated by drenching the sterile soil with blood.[24] At the later occasion they arranged a sacrifice so as to offer the cereals which they had reaped.[25] Public worship was also arranged as health offering. When the health of their society was affected by pestilence of epidemic or their flocks or herds

20. E.O. James, *Sacafice and Sacrament*, p. 102.
21. Herbert Rath, George Grierson, William Crooke, op. cit., p. 123; A K Rath, *Studies on some aspects of the History and Culture of Orissa*, p. 103.
22. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p 63.
23. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 235.
24. Herbert Risley, George Grierson, Wiltiam Crooke, op. cit., p. 124.
25. H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 104.

suffered from epidemic diseases or they became the victims to the ravages of the wild beasts, then the Khonds thought that the Earth Goddess was angry. So she must be propitiated by offering human sacrifices.[26] Such sacrifices were also given for she welfare of their patriarchal family. If the patriarch, the head of a mutha, fell victim to the failure of his crops and the loss of the farm stock, or he himself fell sick or somebody from his family died, then it was viewed as the expression of the wrath of the Earth Goddess. Then they arranged a sacrifice to normalise her mood. They attached great importance to their patriarch because he conducted the sacrificial ceremony. As such his fortune was connected with the Khonds living under his fostering care. Even if there were no visible signs of divine displeasure and the patriarch only was told in a vision to sacrifice a Meriah, then a public worship was arranged.[27]

Further, in case of an inter-tribal battle, the Khonds used to record a vow of human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess in the event of their success.[28] On this occasion they also used to propitiate Loha Pennu, their God of Arms, by shedding the blood of goats and fowls.[29]

The individual offerings were made at any time when one was prompted by the wrath of the divinity. This wrath was felt when any individual of a family suffered from sickness or great distress.[30] In this context, John Clifford, a Missionary in Orissa, in his letter written from the hills of Khonds in 1860 made a mention of how once the headman of the village blamed the Christian Missionaries for the outbreak of Cholera when they tried to suppress the practice.[31]

Reiterating further Macpherson thus writes, "Private atone-

26. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 235.
27. Macpherson's Repoprt upon Khonds, p. 63.
28. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 178.
29. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 57.
30. MJLS, Vol V, January-June 1837, 43. W. Taylors 'On the Language, Manners and Rites of the Khoonds, or Khoi Jati, of Goomsoor Mountains; from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G Maxwell'.
31. S. Pearce Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, p. 38.

ments are deemed necessary when any extraordinary calamity marks the anger of the Deity towards a particular house; as for example, when a child watching a flock perishes by a tiger".[32] In that case the father hastened to his traditional priest, conducted him to his dwelling house where he poured cold water over him by dashing the vessels containing such water. Then the priest sat in his wet garments, while a cup of water was placed before him. And into this cup he dipped his fingers thrice, smelt them, and sneezed. Threafter he felt the presence of God who would speak something wild in the name of the head of the family. However, the priest would demand an immediate performance of a human sacrifice. If it could not be complied with, then a goat was to be sacrificed at the place fixed for the purpose. But he would take a pledge to offer human blood, at any cost, within a year. On this occasion in Jeypore Zamindary the blood was drawn from the ear of another child of the afflicted family and offered with the pledge to sacrifice a substitute within twelve months. If that could not be done, then the same child was to be sacrificed.[33]

There were also timings for such sacrifices. Usually the new moon period was selected for the purpose.[34] The Kotya Kodulu of the south were known to have offered human sacrifices to their God Jenkery, on the Sunday either preceding or following their Pongol* feast.[35] The human sacrifices were also found to have taken place on the eighth of Dasahara, when new rice comes out and on the ninth of Chaitra, when Mahua flowers blossomed and in Jaistha before rice sowing.[36]

32. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds. p 64.
33. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 180
34. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 63.
   * Pongol is a feetival of southern India. It is observed on Makar Sankranti in the month of January.
35. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p 11, Arbuthnot's Report, November 27, 1837.
36. Hislop Papers, p. 14.

Who can be a Meriah and what was his cost ?

Everybody could not be a Meriah, although he could be of any caste except the Brahmins, of any sex, or age. And to know that he was not of the Brahmin caste, the word of the procurer was accepted.[37] In any case grown up persons were most esteemed as they were the costliest.[38] But criminals or prisoners captured in war were not accepted as Meriah, as the Khonds believed that a person once handled by the Government became unfit to be sacrificed.[39]

Usually the Khonds did not like to accept any member of their own classes as Meriah. But there were instances of the Khonds giving up their old parents to be sacrificed when they failed to procure any Meriah as bound by the pledge.[40] Furthermore, the son of a victim was also acceptable as a Meriah.[41] At certain places too, there existed a Meriah tribe, the members of which had been dedicated for this purpose right from their birth. Their children were also registered as Merihas.[42]

In any case the victims were bought by the Khonds.[43] It was a time-honoured rule which ordained that the Meriahs must be bought with a price [44] Otherwise they would not be acceptable to the Goddess.[45]

The cost of Meriah varied from place to place and from time to time ranging from fifteen to two hundred rupees.[46]

37. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 64.
38. The Calcutta Review, Vol 115, 1902, p. 64.
39 M!LS, Vol. V, January-June 1837, p. -3, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites, of the Khounds, or Khoi Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains; from documents furnished by J.A R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell';
Meriah Reports, p. 36.
40. Man in India, Vol. II, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1922, p. 83, J R. Ouseley, Governor General's Agent, South-Western Frontier Agency, to Unner Secretary to Bengal Government, March 9, 1844.
41. J.G. Frazer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 504.
42. Neville A. Watts, *The Helf-Clad Tribals of Eastern India*, p. 48.
43. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. V, New Edition, p. 377.
44. Angul Gazetteer, p. 25.
45. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 286.
46. Ganjam Manual, p. 46.

In Chinna Kimedy it ranged from fifty to eighty rupees.[47] In Cuttack Tributary Mahals the lower caste Hindus like the Panas and the Harees were known to have sold the victims at rupees sixty to one hundred and thirty.[48] In Patna, the Meriahs were procurable at a cheaper rate than elsewhere.[49] However money was rarely used in the purchase of the Meriahs. The cost agreed upon was mostly paid in kind like cattle, pigs, goats, brass vessels or ornaments, and sometimes in saffron, wax and other products of the hills.[50] Even at times a piece of land was given for the purpose.[51]

Procurement of Meriah

The Meriahs were regularly procured and there were agents for the same. They belonged to two lower caste Hindus, namely the Panas and the Gonds, who dwelt close to each Khond village.[52] Of those the Panas were the more noted in the hills for all such evil deeds.[53] However they supplied the victims often by kidnapping them from the plains.[54] But usually every year they moved into the plains, and purchased a number of small boys and girls from the poorer sections of the Hindus and sold them to the Khonds who nurtured them till at least they were seven years old.[55] Sometimes the procurers themselves were known to have sold their own offspring to be victims.[56] In this connection Verrier Elwin who extensively toured over the Khond areas has recorded his observations

47. SRG (India), No. V, p 114.
48. SRG (India), No. V., p. 72, Ricketts Report, February 23, 1837; Angul Gazetteer, p. 61.
49. Jagnnath Patnaik, *Odissa Ithihasare Ketoti Romanchakar Kahani*, p. 50.
50, Campbell's Narrative, p. 53.
51. Angul Gazetteer, p. 61.
52, R.G. Latham, op. cit , p. 329.
53. Herbert Risley, *The People of India* (Reprint, London, 1915), p. 91.
54. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2784G), Madras Government, March 20, 1866, Inspector General of Madras Police to Chief Secretary to Government, January 24, 1866.
55. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol, XIX, p- 236; S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 14.
56. R.G. Latham, op. cit., p. 329.

thus, "The Panos used to take money on a sort of contract to produce a victim; the sum was always twelve rupees. If the Pano could not find a suitable victim he would offer his own son or daughter".[57] In the Jeypore area boys and girls, called 'Tooras' and 'Toorees' respectively, were usually purchased by the wealthy class people from the poor and indigent classes and reared up for the purposes of sacrifice.[58] Of course as a rule the victims were not procured from the Khond tribe but sometimes in bad seasons, the Khonds were obliged to sell their own children to the Panas as Meriahs.[59] At times they were known to have sold their children with the strange notion that by doing so they would help in beautification of their own souls and simultaneusly bring benefits for mankind. Once a Khond father was found remorseful after selling his child to a Pana. Then a party of Khonds approached him and consoled him saying, "Your child will die for all the world to live, and the Earth Goddess herself will wipe that spittle from your face."[60]

Preservation of Meriahs

The Meriahs thus procured were often taken with a piece of cloth bound on their eyes to the concerned village where they were preserved with care till they were sacrificed.[61] A long interval might elapse between the purchase of a victim and his sacrifice.[62] However they were kept in the house of the village chief called Abbaya, in fetters if they were adults and at liberty if they were children.[63] During this period they were treated as consecrated beings. Hence they were handled with a mixture of reverence and tenderness.[64] They were provided with good food. Even the adult male and female

57. Man in India, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1944, p. 54.
58. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 242.
59. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 286.
60. J.G. Frazer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 504.
61. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 65.
62. The Friend of India, July 1841.
63. Ganjam Manual, p. 64
    Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p 65.
64. Ganjam Manual, p. 64.

Meriahs were encouraged to cohabit. If the female Meriah so desired she was allowed to mix freely with any other person.[65] And the offspring, if any, were then reared for sacrifice. But they were never sacrificed in the village of their birth. They were exchanged with the children of other villages born under similar conditions.[66] Similarly if a male Meriah wished to have intercourse with the daughter or the wife of any other Khond, his wish was fulfilled with pleasure as they considered it a rare honour.[67] In this context Verrier Elwin writes, "The Meriah boy could have any girl he wanted, even the Manjhi's wife."[68] Macpherson also writes, "To a Meriah youth, a wife of one of the Hindu castes upon the mountains is generally given. Farm stock and land are presented to him."[69] Cultivators and herdsman thought it lucky to give him a feast.[70]

Thus the Meriah youths, writes Kaye, were "cherished and endowed by the community, for whom they were to die, and inspite of the tremendous curse that overshadowed them, leading happy lives to the last."[71] Similar is the view of Philip Woodruff who writes, "The victims of these Khond sacrifices are kept in comfort by the villagers, as men keep fatten pigs, but with the difference that the pigs do not know what death they are going to die".[72]

There was yet another custom that the Khonds observed with regard to the Meriahs during the period of preservation. Soon after the receipt of the victims they were forced to take food after which they lost the chance of escape and thus reconciled themselves to their fate. In 1839, three young women of the Pana caste were sold to be sacrificed and subsequently they were recovered. On inquiry they informed John Campbell that they had attempted twice to escape, but were

65. E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 286.
66. Campbell's Narrative, p. 53.
67. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion. p. 181.
68. Man in India, Vol. XXIV, No. 1, 1944, p. 54.
69. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 65.
70. C Chakraberty, *The Racial History of India*, p. 298.
71. J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 499.
72. Philip Woodruff, *The Men who ruled India*, Vol. I, p. 249.

brought back. Then the preservers compelled them to eat the Meriah food, after which they remained bound to meet their fate.[73] Thus escape during this period of preservation was rare. Rather they were made to believe that their death would bring for them immediate happiness.[74]

Sacrificial Ceremony

The sacrifice was then performed in a regular ceremony. It was performed when the Khonds thought of a sacrifice to propitiate to the Earth Goddess in view of the exigency of circumstances. A month before the ceremony, people assembled to hear from the Jani (the priest) about the date of the intending sacrifice. With a preliminary prayer to Tari Pennu he used to announce this date. Then ten or twelve days before the date of the celebration, the victim's hairs which were kept unshaved till then, were made clean.[75] If the numbers of victims in the stock were more than one, then one of them was selected by a particular process which is known from the depositions of some recovered Meriahs recorded by J.R. Ouseley, the Governor General's Agent for the South Western Frontier Agency. All the Meriahs in stock were asked to stand up. A number of bamboos to which flags were fastened were kept. One of these bamboos was marked with a red cloth. One who touched this bamboo was selected to be sacrificed.[76]

However it was three days before the sacrifice that the Khonds from different parts started assembling in the village of the sacrifice. During this period it was essential that the whole community remained 'of one heart'. All feuds were to be forgotten and no one was to be excluded from the festival.[77] They were found to have dressed themselves in their finery, some with bear skins thrown over their shoulders,

73. Campbell's Narrative, p 214.
74. R G Latham, op cit, p. 330.
75. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangeliz tion*, p. 230.
76 Man in India, Vol. II. 1-2, March-June 922, p 83, J.R. Ouseley, Governor-General's Agent, South Western Frontier Agency, to Uuder Secretary to Government of Bengal, March 9, 1844.
77. Barbara M. Boal, *The Donds*, p. 54.

others with the tails of peacocks flowing behind them, and the long-winding feather of jungle cocks waving on their heads.[78] Thus being dressed they used to dance, leap and rejoice, beating drums and playing on their favourite instrument which sounded like the highland pipe.[79]

The first day used to be spent in drunken feasting and frantic dancing. But the victim was kept fasting. In the morning of the second day, he was carefully washed and given a new garment. Then he was taken in a solemn procession from door to door in the village amidst music and dancing and then to the Meriah grove. In every village, there was located at a short distance the Meriah grove which was a shady place clustered by a large number of trees such as the mango, the banyan, the Sal and the Pipal (fig tree). Nearby there was a rivulet called the Meriah stream. All those groves,were kept sacred and no axe was allowed to be taken inside. The Khonds regarded it as their haunted ground. However, in the centre of this grove, was fixed a post, called the Meriah post. At its foot the victim, anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric and adorned with flowers, was made to sit. Sitting in this posture he was worshipped throughout the day.[80]

As soon as night fell, the villagers started licentious feasting accompanied by women who participated in the function. As the hours passed they grew wilder. With no sense of shame they were found to have mingled freely with the other sex 'in the more than saturnalian license' reported Macpherson 'by which the rite is accompanied.'[81]

Although women were permitted to attend a Meriah sacrifice and participate in dancing and playing on musical instruments, they were not allowed to touch the Meriah, lest he or she might be polluted.[82]

78. The Friend of India, July 1841.
79. A. Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, p. 230.
80. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 182; Ganjam Manual, p. 64.
81. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, pp. 56, 66.
82. Man in India, Vol. II. Nos. 1-2, March-June 1922, p. 83, J.R. Ouseley, Governor General's Agent, South Western Frontier Agency, to Under Secretary to Bengal Government, March 9, 1844.

However, on the third day, the day of sacrifice, the victim was given a little milk and palm sago. Then from the sacred grove he was taken to the spot where the sacrifice was to take place. There the sacrificing priest implored the Goddess to shower down her blessing upon the people, so that their homes were filled with the voices of happy children, their cattle and poultry increased and the fertility of their fields was added to, so that the increase of their wealth would lead to the increase of worship.* At the same time he went on recounting every time the origin of the rite and narrating the incidents which led to the celebration of the first of sacrifices. He was heard to have repeated. "We obyed the Goddess, and assembled the people. Then the victim child wept, and viled and uttered curses. All the people rejoiced except those with whom the child had dwelt and the Jani. They were overwhelmed with grief; their sorrows prevailed entirely over their expectations of benefit, and they did not give either their minds or their faith to the gods." Continuing the narration he also evoked. 'Oh deity! why have you instituted this miserable heart-rendering rite?' Then the Earth Goddess came again and told the victims through the Jani, 'Blame not us, blame your parents who sold you, what fault is ours? The Earth Goddess demanded a sacrifice; it is necessary for the world. If the tiger begins to rage, the snake to poison; fevers and every pain afflict the people; a sacrifice becomes necessary.[83] After this part was over, at the instance of the Jani, the bones of the arms and the legs of the victim were broken so that he would not show any resistance.[84] But often he was stupified with opium for the purpose.[85]

In the Maliahs of Ghumsar this ceremony was performed in a somewhat different manner. There the Earth Goddess was represented by an effigy resembling a peacock.[86] She was placed on the post. The ceremony was performed by the

* See the details of the ritual in Appendix-G.

83. Ganjam Manual, pp 64-65

84. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 183.

85 Ganjam Manual, p. 66.

86 James Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission*, p. 189.

muthas who bore all the expenses. And they performed it in rotation. Here the Jani of course officiated at the sacrifice, but he performed the worship of the effigy through the 'Toomba', who was a Khond child under seven years of age, so that no sinful hands might approach the dreaded Goddess.[87] He was fed and clothed at public expenses. Of course he would not eat with any other persons. He too would not do any other work which was deemed impure.[88] For a month prior to the sacrifice the villagers remained engrossed in feasting and dancing round the victim who was adorned daily with garlands. One day ahead of the performance of the sacrifice, he was stupified with Tadi and made to sit close to the post bearing the effigy. At times he was tied to the post. The assembled multitudes dancing round the post to the tune of the music first addressed the earth thus, "Oh Goddess ! We offer the sacrifice to you—give us good crops, seasons and health" Then they addressed the victim thus, "We bought you with a price and did not seize you. Now we sacrifice you according to the custom, and no sin rests on us". It was again on the day of the sacrifice that the victim was stupified. He was also anointed with soil. Then each individual present there used to touch this anointed part and take a little bit of the oil to be put on his own head. The victim was taken at the head of a procession accompanied by music around the village. With them they carried a pole, on the top of which was fastened a tuft of peacock's feathers. Thus after going round the village they returned to their deity 'Jakeri Pennu' which was represented by three stones. Near this deity they had already buried a brass effigy in the shape of a peacock. Then they killed a hog and made its blood flow into a pit dug for the purpose.[89]

87. Angul Gazetteer, p. 61.
88. MJLS, Vol. V, January-June 1837, p. 43, W. Taylor's 'On the Language, Manners, and Rites, of the Khoonds, or Khoi. Jati, of the Goomsoor Mountains; from documents furnished by J.A.R. Stevenson and W.G. Maxwell'
89. SRG (Madras), G.E. Russell, Reports on the Disturbances in Purla Kimedy, Vizagapatam and Goomoor, 1832-1836, Vol. II, pp. 53-54, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837.

In Baud an almost simillar procedure was gone through before the sacrifice took place. Here, however, the licentiousness was more gross and brutal. While the Meriah was taken round the village in a procession to each door, some were found to have plucked hair from his head, and others to have solicited a drop of his saliva, if not his sweat, with which they anointed their own heads. Therefore the victim was dragged to the place of the sacrifice.[90]

Thus after completing different paraphernalia of the ceremony they proceeded to the sacrificial part of the occasion.

Mode of Sacrifice

The mode of sacrifice was found to have differed from place to place. But the most common practice was that the Jani first wounded the Meriah with his axe after which the crowd rushed to the victim and stripped the flesh from his bones keeping the head and the intestines untouched.[91] The remaining modes followed at different places were as follows.

Ghumsar

In Ghumsar the victim previously made senseless by intoxication was seized while his head was pressed down into the pit containing the fresh blood of the hog until he was suffocated to death. Then the Jani first cut a piece of flesh from the body and buried it with certain rites near the effigy of the village idol as an offering to the earth. Thereafter each of the villagers cut off a piece of flesh.[92] Thus, compared to other places, here the mode of sacrificing the victim was less cruel.[93]

90. Campbell's Narrative, p. 113.
91. Macpherson's Account of Khond Religion, p. 183;
Herbert Risley, *The Pepole of India*, p. 63.
Garjam Manual, p. 66.
92. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 54, Third Report on Goomoor, May 11, 1837.
93. N.R. Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 166.

China Kimedy

In the Chinna Kimedy region there was yet another mode of sacrifice. The effigy of a wooden elephant was fixed on the top of a stout post and it was made to revolve. After performing the usual ceremonies, the concerned victim was fastened to the proboscis of this elephant. Then amidst the shouts and yells of the excited multitudes of the Khonds, the elephant was rapidly whirled round. A signal was given thereafter by the officiating priest. Then the crowd rushed in, seized the Meriah and cut off his flesh with their knives as long as life ebbed.[94] Campbell was known to have discovered fourteen such effigies of the elephant which were used formerly on the occasion.[95] These wooden elephants were subsequently burnt by the British officers.[96]

Baud

The mode of sacrifice in Baud was not that cruel. There the head and neck of the victim were inserted into the reft of a splited bamboo. Then its ends were held tight by the sacrificers. Advancing then with an axe, the presiding priest first broke the joints of the legs and arms; after which the surrounding mob stripped off the flesh from the bones with their knives.[97]

Maji Deso

In Maji Deso a peculiar mode of sacrifice prevailed. On the day of sacrifice, the Meriah was surrounded by the Khonds, who beat him violently on his head with heavy metal bangles, which they specially wore on these occasions. If he did not die as a result of the beating, they strangulated him by putting his head inside a slit bamboo.[98]

Patna

In the State of Patna, the Meriah sacrifices mostly found

94. Campbell's Narrative, p. 126.
95. J.G Frazer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 505.
96. Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 63.
97. Campbell's Narrative, p. 113.
98 SRG (India), N ' V, p. 117, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.

in Sooah, Toopah, and Goakah were performed in diversified forms such as stoning to death and beating to death with bamboos and such other torturous modes.[99]

Guddapur

In Guddapur the mode of sacrifice was somewhat different. There a trench, seven feet long, was dug. Then the victim was suspended with his neck and heels fastened with ropes to stakes firmly fixed at each end of the trench[100] The presiding priest then took an axe and inflicted six cuts in between the neck and heels at equal distance repeating the number, one, two, and the like as he did so. At the seventh cut, the body being separated from the head, fell into the pit. It was then covered with earth.[101]

Ramgiri

In Ramgiri the sacrifice was also different. Here the sacrifice was made to the Goddesses Goorboneshany• and Beercombo. And two such sacrifices were made at every third year. Those were performed by the side of the old fort at Ramgiri and Letchampore. The Goddess was believed to have dwelt inside a big hole which was eighteen square inches in size with a depth of three feet. And to this hole the victim called Junna was inserted forcibly. There his arms were seized by two assistants and held out in a horizontal position. The priest first made an incision in the back of the victim's neck Then the assistants cut his throat from one end to the other, with the result that the blood flew into the bottom of the hole. Some time later, the head of the Junna was severed from his body. The earth was thrown over the body.[102]

Almost a similiar method of sacrifice* was frequently

99. Ibid , p 118.
100. The Friend of India, July 1841.
101. A Sutton, *Orissa and its Evangelization*, pp. 230-231.
102 SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 21, MacNeill's Report, May 21, 1855.

* Although the witches were killed, the British officers in charge of Meriah operation have shown them as sacrifices as they found in it some religious elements.

practised in the Ramgiri Taluk, to get rid of women accused of witchcraft and sorcery. This was committed mostly near Tentuli Gumma village by the side of which there was a large pool in the bed of a river running into the Godavari near Malkangiri. This pool was twelve to fourteen feet deep. The women accused of sorcery were thrown inside this pool with a stone tied round their necks.[103]

Jeypore

In Jeypore, the sacrifices were offered not only to the Earth Goddess, but also to their God Manikeswar, once a year. Simultaneously three human beings were sacrificed in succession. Of them two were sacrificed to the sun, one in the East and the other in the West of the village. The third one was sacrificed at the centre to Manikeswar or the Earth Goddess as the case might be. All those sacrifices were characterised by barbarities like the ones connected with the Meriah.[104] There was a stout wooden post about six feet long firmly fixed into the ground. At its foot, a narrow grave was dug. The victim was firmly fastened by his head to the top of the post and his body was thus suspended horizontally over the grave, with the face learning towards the earth. Four assistants held him with his face arms and legs outstreched. The officiating Jani stood on the right side and repeated the invocation at intervals, hacking every time at the back of the shrieking victim's neck with his sacrificial knife. He invoked thus :

> "On mighty Manikeswar, this is your festal day. To the Khonds, the offering is 'Meriah' to kings 'Junna'. On account of this sacrifice you have given to kings their kingdoms, guns and swords. The sacrifice we now offer, you must eat, and we pray that our battle axes may be converted into swords, our bows and arrows into gun powder and balls; and if we have quarrels with our tribes,

103. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 24, McNeill's Report, June 12, 1856.

104. SRG (*India*), No. V, *p. 123.*

give us victory. Preserve us from the tyranny of kings and their officers".

At the same time Jani addressed the victim thus :

"That we may enjoy prosperity, we offer you as a sacrifice to our God Manikeswar, who will immediately eat you, so be not grieved at our slaying you. Your parents were aware, when we purchased you from them for sixty rupees, that we did so with intent to sacrifice you, this is therefore no sin on our heads, but on your parents. After you are dead we shall perform your obsequies".[105]

The victim's body was then separated from the head. While the body was thrown into the grave the head was left suspended from the post till it was devoured by wild beasts. The knife remained fastened to the post till all the three sacrifices were performed. Then it was removed with a solemn rite.[106]

In Jeypore State, the mode of sacrifice adopted by the Kotya Kodulu was still different. There they were known to have offered human sacrifices to their God Jakeri. In the morning of the day of sacrifice, the victim was carried before the idol in a state of intoxication. The officiating priest first used to make a small hole into his stomach. Thereafter the villagers who had come from the neighbouring areas rushed in and cut him into pieces, each procuring a morsel of the flesh and carried it off to his own village to be presented to the village idol.[107] In Jeypore, during the Dasahara of 1861, a girl of about twelve years was kidnapped from the Poorogher Mutha and was sacrificed in this manner before the deity Kali. They did it when Cholera had broken out in that area.[108]

At some other places another method was adopted for

105. SRG (India), No. V, p. 124.
106. Ibid.
107. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 11, Arbuthnot's Report, November 24, 1833.
108. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 32, McNeill's Report, June 11, 1861,

the purpose. The victim was made to roll upwards and downwards on the fire till life passed away from him. He was made to roll thus because of the belief of the Khonds that the more he shed tears the greater would be the rainfall.[109]

On the whole, in whatever way the sacrifice was performed, it was invariably accompanied be the most revolting cruelty.

Post Sacrifice Rites

The ceremony did not close after the sacrifice. The remains of the victim's body like the head, the intestines, the bones and the face were carefully guarded till the next morning. Sometimes the body was burnt, and the ashes were taken away to be scattered over the fields.[110] At times, they also made a sort of paste out of the ashes and mixed it with their new corn or put it inside their granaries. Sometimes the heads and bones were buried and not burnt.[111]

In periodical common sacrifices, a representative from each tribe or village was sent to the place of sacrifice to take the ashes, whilst his brethern at home eagerly waited in rigid fast and solemn prayer to receive it In certain cases also, the flesh of the Meriah was cleft from his bones, carefully wrapped in leaves and carried home.[112] There it was placed on a cushion of grass at a public place, where the head of each family received a portion of it in all solemnity while the priest of the village was present. Then the fragments of the flesh were buried in his field.[113] If the villages were remote and difficult to reach, a relay of runners was arranged, so that the flesh could be buried before the sun set as they had the belief that the rite would be the more efficacious if that was

109. Ganjam Manual, p 66.
110. J G Frazer, op cit. Vol, I, p. 506;
Ganjam Manual, p. 66.
111. J.G. Frazer op cit. Vo. I, p. 506.
112 Edward B. Tylor, op. cit., Vol. II, p, 271.
113. J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 499;
Campbell's Narrative, p. 113;
SRG (India), No. V, p. 117. MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.

done.[114] At certain places, Maji Deso, for example, the flesh was carried to the stream which watered the fields. There it was suspended on a pole and on it water was poured which flew down the stream.[115] For three days thereafter, no house was swept and strict silence was observed; no fire was lit, no wood cut, and no strangers received.[116]

There was yet another practice that the Khonds of Ghumsar followed. A buffalo calf was brought to the post, where the sacred flesh was kept. The Khonds cut off its forefeet, and left it there till the next morning. Women dressed in male attive and armed as men drank, danced and sang round the post throughout the night. The calf was then killed and eaten. The Jani present there then retired to his place with a present of rice and a hog or a calf.[117]

Another post sacrifice practice in this regard is known from Verrier Elwin's 'Notes on a Kondh Tour' It was after the sacrifice that the victim's fiesh, head, bones and other parts such as his private parts, the nose, ears, lips, tongue and liver were kept in a basket in the priest's house. From there the flesh was carried to the fields while the bones were buried within the bounds of their villages. And all other parts were cooked in the hearth and offered to their village Goddess, after which those were buried in the centre of the village.[118] They did so as a guarantee of good harvest, since the Khonds believed that the flesh and ashes of the victim were the magical manures endowed with fertilizing efficacy.[119] It was chiefly for this reason that the sacrifices were arranged mostly at the sowing time.[120]

In large gatherings at times strange things were known to have taken place. When the village representatives felt that

114 S Pearse Carey, op. cit., p. 15.

115. SRG (India), No. V, p. 117, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.

116 J G. Frazer op cit Vol I, p. 506.

117. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 55. Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837.

118. Man in India Vol. XXIV, No. I, 1944, p. 54.

119. E O James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament*, p. 86;
S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 15;
E.O. James, *Origins of Sacrifice*, p. 99.

120. E.O. James, *Sacrifice and Sacrament*, p. 86.

the flesh of the victim would be insufficient, a disappointed Khond in orgy would slice off a piece from the body of the one cutting the victim.[121]

Thus it is to be seen from the treatment of the victims, both before and after the sacrifice, that the entire rite was not a mere propitiatory sacrifice. While a little of the flesh was offered to the Earth Goddess, the rest was buried in the fields, and the ashes were scattered over the cultivable fields.[122] This clearly indicates that they ascribed to the Meriah the possession of direct or intrinsic power to make the crops grow. In other words, "the flesh and ashes of the victim", writes J G. Frazer "were believed to be endowed with a magical or physical power of fertilising the land".[123] And this power was ascribed to the blood and tears of the Meriah, the blood causing the redness of the turmeric and the tears the rain.* Thus the Meriah was much more than a mere victim sacrificed to propitiate a deity. In this context while Campbell regarded the Meriah as something more than mortal, Macpherson regarded the victim as species of reverence. In short, the Meriah seems to have been revered as divine.[124] It appears that originally the Meriah was esteemed as the very deity of vegetation, the God incarnate, but in later times he was regarded as a victim of offering to a deity. The European writers have emphasised on later view while describing the religion of the Khonds. In

121. Angul Gazetteer, p. 26.

121. OJMS, Vol, LXXVIII, Nos. 3-4, July-December 1897, p. 78, N.R. Patnaik's 'Meriah sacrificial Ceremony : A Historical Study'.

123. J G Frazer, op cit, pp 506-507.

* The following extract from Khonds' hymn illustrates it very clearly.

As the tears stream from thine eyes,
So may the rain pour down in August;
As the mucus trickles from thy nostrils,
So may it drizzle at intervals;
As thy blood gushes forth,
So may the vegetation sprout;
As thy gore falls in drops,
So may the grains of the rice form. (Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, p. 63).

124. Jagannath Patnaik, *Feudatory States of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 591.

this context J.G. Frazer also writes thus, "This preconceived idea may unconsciously colour and warp their descriptions of savage rites".[125]

Discovery of Meriah Sacrifice by the British

It was in 1836 that Meriah sacrifice among the Khonds was discovered by the British. The circumstances leading to this discovery were as follows. Prior to this date, very little was known to the British officers about the Khonds and they also did not know anything about the British either. Meanwhile in 1835, the chief of Ghumsar Estate rebelled against the British Government and took refuge amongst the Khonds. Ghumsar was then a feudal possession, tributary to the British.[126] However, in the cold season of 1835-36, the British troops started their operations against its Chief with G.E. Russell, the senior member of the Board of Revenue of the Madras Presidency, as the leader. For the first time they ascended the Ghats which lay at the back of the district of Ganjam. This was how they made their first acquaintance with the Khonds and their country.[127] It was only then that G.E. Russell discovered the existence of human sacrifice among the Khonds and brought it to the notice of the Government in his first Report of August 12 of 1836 submitted on the affairs of Ghumsar.[128] Subsequently Lieutenant Samuel Charters Macpherson of the Madras Army who was employed during the Ghumsar rebellion to survey a part of the country at the foot of the hills, brought the existence of such sacrifices to the notice of the British Government in 1836 A man of a thoughtful and inquiring nature, energetic and benevolent of the best kind that he was, he took great interest in studying the practice from a close range.[129] Two years later, Lieutenant Hill of the Survey Department also reported about the prevalence of Meriah sacrifices among the Khonds in

125. J.G. Frazer, op. cit , Vol. I, p. 507.
126. Thornton's Gazetteer, Vol. II, pp. 363-364.
127. J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 495.
128. SRG (India), No. V, p. I, Report, August 12, 1836.
129. J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of East India Ccompany*, p. 496

Jeypore, Bastar, Chinna Kimedy, Ghumsar, Baud, Sonepur and Daspalla.[130] In fact this practice had been there through centuries in the whole range of Khondistan, about which the outer world had known nothing.[131] However, since that time till 1861, the British Government made continuous efforts for the suppression of this gruesome practice and finally succeeded in their efforts.

Suppression of Meriah Sarifice

The suppression of Meriah sacrifice was a very difficult task, mostly because the practice had become a national institution of the Khonds. But it was after the receipt of the report of Russell that the British Government decided to suppress the rite when he was requested by the Governor-in-Council to pay particular attention to the matter.[132] In reply Russell also made it known that such a cruel practice could not be allowed. But he did not take any step then in this regard because of the dangers he anticipated in immediate involvement in the matter.

Dangers Involved in the Efforts at Suppression

The dangers that the British anticipated in the involvement were quite a few in number. First they felt that the superstitious rite of the ages would not be eradicated in a day, as it had been in practice from time immemorial. Macpherson in this connection writes thus, "Very deeply the abhorrent rite of the Meriah sacrifice had struck its roots into the physical, social and moral being of the Khond tribes hitherto visited—like the aged pine on the mountains' brow, insinuating its downward fibres into every crevice of the rock, with such outspreading force and cleaving tenacity that to sever it from its commanding position, might seem equivalent to the rending of the

130. SRG. (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 11-12, Hill's Report, July 2, 1838.
131. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 15.
132. SRG (India), No. V, p. 3.

rock itself into fragments."[133] Further the rite had been sanctioned by the Rajas. It was also difficult to suppress the rite because of the strange belief of the Khonds lying behind it, as had been reported by Macpherson. The Khonds believed that the rite was essential for the very existence of mankind and the continuance of their own species as it used to provide productive powers to nature. They also believed further that the rite was essential for providing food to the Gods. At the same time they believed that the God had positively ordained them to perform the rite.[134] In such circumstances it would be a farfetched idea to ask them to abandon in a day a way of life that they had inherited from a timeless past, as such an act would contradict the central axiom of all their thinking, and force them to forego the only safeguard from grave perils—something which they had been tutored through the ages to trust. The Khonds were simple, illiterate folk, with scarcely and knowledge of the outer world, and with no books nor even a written language. "And their only spiritual guides, their witch-doctors", writes Carey, "were seven fold more obscurantist than themselves" [135]

Secondly, the people with whom the British would deal had become known to them only within the last few months, and again their intercourse had been confined to a very small portion of a vast population of Khonds spread over a large tract where the same rite had prevailed Thirdly, the British knew almost nothing about their country and language. Fourthly, any measure of coercion was likely to excite the jealousy of a whole race, with whom the feeling of clanship was the strongest. Inspite of the Khond's dissensions in ordinary life, they were likely to make it a common cause in support of their own religion.[136] Fifthly, the environment of the Khond-inhabitated areas was not favourable for a rash

133 The Calcutta Review, Vol VIII, 1847, p. 1, "Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various official Document.

134. The Calcutta Review, Vol. 115, 1902, pp. 63-64.

135. S Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 19.

136. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 55-56, Third Report on Goomsur, May 11, 1837.

operation. Those were mostly thick jungles full of wild beasts There were no roads either The smallness and sparseness of the village made communication with the Khonds difficult and slow. Moreover, the people in their general habits were unhygienic. Their houses containing their cattle, goats and fowl were often likely to be polluted with germs. As such the visit of pestilence was common in that area. So it was felt that the commissioned contingents and the Officers would face difficulties in working with full wing. Moreover, the Khonds were acutely proud of their never-conquered independence and the Government therefore justly shrank from any interference lest it might involve them in a prolonged and disastrous war.[137] Sixthly, the general impression of the Khonds was that the Government was indifferent to the practice of Meriah sacrifice.[138] Such an impression developed because the British Government did not take any decisive and comprehensive measure for its suppression when it came to know of it. The Government at the same time was also conscious that it had no just right to interfere with such a rite which had been practised from the beginning and sanctioned by the Rajas. It appears that the Rajas approved of it because of their own beliefs which was like that of the Khonds—that it was essential for the continuation of the species.[139] The Khonds used to believe that the suppression of Meriah sacrifice by the Government would be as unjust as the abolition of the Hindu worship of Lord Jagannath at Puri.[140] Furthermore, Britain was pledged to a policy of neutrality to India's diversity of creeds. In that case it would be "a breach of faith" writes Carey" to have cut across the aeonian philosophy and practice of the Khonds,

137. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 13.

138. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 10, Lieut Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttak and Various Official Doeuments.

139 SRG (India), No. V. pp. 45-46, Macpherson's Report, April 24, 1842.

140 The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 11, Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Garjam and Cuttack and Various Official Districts.

and to have imposed reform upon them, before efforts had been made to persuade their better mind".[141]

Thus it is to be observed that the British Government rightly realised that the character of the Khonds and the physical nature of their country combined to preclude any attempt to effect the suppression of their great religious rite by force as a primary measure. Moral influence rather than power would be more effective. Coercion, they thought, could not succeed. On the contrary, any such attempt would add to the difficulties of the undertaking by exciting fear and distrust among the Khonds. So they realised that in the fitness of things they should endeavour to inspire confidence and good will in the Khonds.[142]

However, keeping all these factors in view, the British Government at last decided to evolve certain policies and principles for the suppression of the rite.

Policies and Principles for the Suppression of the rite

The primary policy pertaining to the suppression of the practice as suggested by Russell was to accomplish it by a slow and gradual process and not by rash action.[143] In this connection Kaye writes, "Time and contact of civilisation were to be left to do their slow work".[144] However, agreeing to the views of Russell, the Madras Government further suggested that the Khonds should be made to abandon the practice voluntarily.[145] Similar was the reply of the Government of Bengal to Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner and Superintendent of Orissa Tributary Mahals, who had reported with regard to the suppression of the practice in Daspalla and Baud lying under his jurisdiction. The Bengal Government also wrote to the Commissioner thus, "Much should be done even then, and no

141. S Pearce Carey, op. cit , p. 19.

142 Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 83;
SRG (India), No. V, p. 7, Russell's Report, May 11, 1837.

143. SRG (Madras)Russell's Report, Vol. II, pp. 55-56, Third Report on Goomsur, May 11, 1837.

144 J.W. Kaye. *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 501.

145. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 41.

proper exertion should be omitted towards cheeking the frequency of the crime by the terror of just punishment''.[146] On the whole the policy of the British Government was to make the Khonds integral, contended and progressive members of the British Indian Empire through a patient statesmanship, which would restrain them from their heathen practices, and win them over to start humanitarian reforms themselves. The authorities in Bengal and Madras further perceived that forbearance and instruction were the only valid principles for the suppression of the rite.[147] And necessarily the course to be adopted should be long and laborious.[148]

The next policy of the British Government was to disocver the real cause of the practice in order to bring about its extinction. Although it was an extremely difficult task, still they wanted to do it by continued and patient observation of the people in the forests living under various circumstances. They knew that the Khonds looked upon famine, disease, worldy misfortune and death as the inevitable and direct consequences of the suppression of the rite. So the British Government rightly thought of winning their confidence helping them during such calamities by redressing their miseries and settling their feuds and disputes; and convincing them by reasoned eloquence, that fertility and prosperity could be had without human sacrifice,'[149] But this was to be done not by superseding their institution in the management of their own affairs, as such an act would wound the pride of a free and independent people, but by associating the Government with their administration of justice and above all be extending a policy of moderation.[150]

Another policy that the British wished to adopt was not to introduce any new theory. Retaining their old principles they wanted to make the Khonds feel that the ensuing change would be solely in their own interest and not that of the Government.

146 SRG (India), No V, p. 75, Government of Bengal to Henry Ricketts, March 14, 1837.

147 S. Pearce Carey op. cit , p. 19.

148 Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 83.

149. F G Bailey, *Tribe, Caste, and Nation*, p. 176.

150. Macphersons's Memorials, p. 215.

They also wanted to impress upon the Khonds that their evil deity would no longer hurt them; if they placed on the Government a strong faith reliance. Furthermore they wanted to impress that the deity whom they called evil was in fact the God of Light and Earth Goddess whom they worshipped. He was really the 'Beneficient Omnipotence'.[151]

The next policy of the Government was aimed at improving the intercourse of the Khonds with other tribes. It would really civilize and enlighten them as the British had already realised that the rite had emerged from their gross delusions of the darkest ignorance and superstition. The general instruction and the consequent dawn of civilization would help in eradicating from among them their intense inclination for indulging in the horrible rite.[152]

Meanwhile prompted by the humanistic considerations of rooting out the abominable practice, one British official Macpherson who was directly connected with the suppression laboured hard to make himself familiar with the social institutions of the Khonds. Then he suggested to the Government the adoption of certain principles and measures for the eradication of the evil. Those were as follows.

Firstly, the British officials stationed for the suppression of the rite should exert their personal influence. Secondly, the heads of the Khond society might be induced directly to be subservient to the British Government's iews. Thirdly, the Khond might be won over by giving them grants of land as every Khond was supposed to have a passionate desire for the possession of land. It would not be impracticable either. The tribes living towards the East of the Ghats could be given valueless jungle tracts of Ghumsar and Surada. Similarly the wastelands beyond the river Mahanadi located in Baud and Daspalla could be given to the Khonds of that region. Fourthly, each patriarch, the chief of the Ghumsar Malia, might be provided with a home in the plains where he would occasionally reside without being permanently separated from his own tribe. He and his family as well as his dependents

15 Ibid, pp. 215-216.
152. Adam's Report, p. 449.

would thus acquire new ideas and tastes, through their easy intercourse with the Hindu society. Fifthly, the patriarchs might be favoured with the gift of money, cattle, etc. as obvious incentives or rewards for their cooperation. And it could be conveninetly given by exempting them from the payment of their yearly offerings of homage, or as offerings made upon their accession to their office.[353] Furthermore a considerable influence might be exerted on them by given them dresses of honour, the titles, and honorary privileges. Complementary nicknames given to them by the Rajas were most prized and found to have become hereditary and 'tenaciously adhered to by a Khond family as a title of nobility was in Europe'.[154]

Macpherson further recommended that the Khonds be brought under discipline for the accomplishment of the objective. So he suggested that the Khonds be employed in public services suited to the peculiarities of their character and situation. This conclusion he derived from the success in the formation of a Bheel corps in the Bombay Presidency This recruitment was found to have changed entirely the character of the people of that part.[155]

Macpherson also suggested a few more measures especially directed to the abolition of the rite of Meriah sacrifice. Those were as follows.

A direct authority over the sacrificing tribes among the Khonds was to be established by ministering to some of their social wants, and acting upon some of the leading tendencies of their character. The Khond priests who were chiefly associated with the rite had to be gained over. Furthermore the cooperation of the Zamindars was to be sought at places where their direct influence worked. This could be effectively done by awarding them honorary gifts and privileges and by tempting them with the prospect of the remission of their tributes in the event of success. The employment of a force was also suggested as a secondary measure. He also pointed out that the Naiks and Peons, with their local knowledge and

153. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 87.
154. Ibid. p. 88.
155. Ibid.

power of withstanding the rigours of the climate, might be suited best to such services, but they would be disqualified on account of their strong feelings of antipathy towards the Khonds. So he suggested the creation of a separate force like the Company of the Sebundies formed at Ganjam.[156]

Simultaneously with these measures, Macpherson suggested a few more legal provisions for the suppression of the rites pointing out the difficulties in the enforcement of the same. He wanted to impose punishment for the offence of traffic in human victims. Reiterating further he pointed out some distinct classes of persons engaged in this traffic, either as sellers or as purchasers, or as both. The first among them were the mountain Khonds. But the purchase of victims was not a moral offence for them. As such it would be generally impossible to enforce any law against them. Another class of people who procured victims were the families of the Panas and other low caste Hindus, who were the hereditary residents of the hills. Socially identified with the Khonds, the Panas were esteemed as most important persons for their community. As such it would be difficult to enforce any law against them. The Khonds of the low country formed the third category. With regard to them, of course, the enforcement of the law would be entrusted to the discretion of an officer on the spot, and if necessary, to a special Agency, as was the case in Thugee. The Madras Regulations provided no punishment for the crime of traffic in human victims. Although the Mohomedan law made this crime punishable by the court, nobody had so far been convicted of the offence, no penalty for it had been imposed. However, Macpherson opined that procurers should be invariably punished by transportation for life, a penalty which he believed 'to be in general as much dreaded in Orissa as death'.[157]

Macpherson was not the only British officer who suggested the measures in this regard. There was yet another officer, A.J.M.Mills, whose energies were devoted to the same cause.

Mills suggested to the Government the adoption of a persuasive and conciliatory policy to start with. Officers were

156. Ibid. pp. 88-89.
157. Ibid. pp. 90-91.

to be employed to gain more information about the rite and report to the Government. Like Macpherson he also suggested the Khonds' intercourse with the British so as to civilize them.[158]

Finally in recommending such measures both Macpherson and A.J.M. Mills expressed hopes for the suppression of the rite. And this hope they developed while examining the nature of the sacrifice. Before the sacrifice, the priest in his prayer used to state that the Khonds had bought the victims with a price, and did not seize them, and they would sacrifice them according to the custom, and no sin would lie on them. In such an utterance of the priest they could see 'the awareness of some undefined moral law, of something higher than the will of the devil godling'.[159]

If was after outlining the policies and principles that the British Government took some concrete steps. The formation of the Meriah Agency was the first such step.

Formation of the Meriah Agency

It was on July 19, 1845 that the reports of the British officials reflecting on the character of the Khonds were discussed threadbare by the Governor-General-in-Council. Then a resolution was passed, which formed the basis of the Act. XXI of 1845.*

The preamble of the Act began with the intention of the Government to pursue practical measures to repress the crimes arising out of mere superstition. Since it was concerned with the deepest interest to humanity, in which the character of the Indian Government was also concerned, all-out efforts were to be made till those abominable customs were completely extirpated.[160]

It was further provided in the Act not to employ force as the Khonds might take opportunities of sacrificing their victims in secret. In that case the result would be as unsatisfactory

158 SRG (India), No. V, p. 82, Mills' Report, June 1, 1844.

159. Philip Woodruff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 250.

* For details of the resolution, see Appendix-H.

160. SRG (India), No. V, p. 90.

as it had been in the case of the Madras Army in the Ghumsar campaign, when the losses and sufferings of the troops were very high due to the insalubrity of the climate.[161]

In view of such a situation the Governor-General in-Council resolved on the formation of an Agencey comprising of the whole tract of country where human sacrifices prevailed. And this Agency, the resolution stated, "shall be under the general guidance of the Government of India.[162]

So in the first instance the estates of Daspalla and Baud were to be removed from the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mahals in Cuttack and placed under the jurisdiction and superintendence of a special officer to be called the 'Agent for suppression of Meriah sacrifices, in the Hill Tracts of Orissa'. Captain Macpherson was named to hold this post. He was to be assisted by a sufficient number of competent Assistants and subordinate staff. They were to be guided by the same rules in all departments of the administration as were followed by the Commissioner and Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in Cuttack. The subordinate staff would be required to work like local functionaries. Of course if they were persons from the hill races, or identified with hill races by residence and customs, special rules would be provided by the Governor-General-in Council for their guidance.[163]

Thus by the Act XXI of 1845, the Governor-General-of-India-in-Council was empowered to control through the Meriah Agent the entire tract inhabited by the Khond tribes, whether situated within the Bengal or the Madras presidencies. This was done with a view to removing serious difficulties which had been previously experienced as the officers employed in performing the task of supressing Meriah sacrifices worked under the dual control of the authorities of the respective presidencies. In fact the Governments of Madras and Bengal could not work in concert with each other, with the

161. Ibid.
162. SRG (India), No. V., p. 91.
163. Ibid.

result that unity of action was impaired.[164] But this arrangement enabled the government to follow a more systematic and consistent course of action.[165]

Agency Officers and their Roles in the Suppression of the Rite

Indeed the Agency Officers played the most conspicuous roles in the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice. Apropos the provision of the Act in 1845, Captain Macpherson was appointed the first Agent for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifices, on the sole ground of his own personal merits and the feasibility of his plans.[166] Invested with a very extensive and well defined authority, Macpherson laboured hard and became more effectual than before.[167]

The other officers also worked hard against all types of odd situations, and climates and finally attained full success. They were Colonel John Campbell, Captain MacViccar, Captain McNeill, Dr. Cadenhead, Dr. Pinkey, Captain J.P. Frye and Lieutenant Crawford. Besides them other officers who engaged themselves in this task were Banerman, the Magistrate of Ganjam, Inglish, the Joint Magistrate of Ganjam and Captain Miller, and Lieutenant Hill of the Survey Department.[168]

Of course in conducting the operations and dealing with the Khonds all those officers of the Agency experienced no ordinary difficulties. But generally they were found to have shown a wise discretion and a clear perception in the employment of the methods for securing success.[169] An attitude of firmness, without resorting to force, was their guideline of action. Angry feelings were met by concilliation. Through personal conferences they were able to implant confidence in

164. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, pp. 12-13.
165. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 216.
166 The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 13, Lieut Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various official Documents.
167. J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 513.
168. K.K. Datta, *Social History of Modern India*, p. 271.
169. SRG (India), No. V, p. 134, Despatch of the Honourable Court of Directors, June 14, 1854.

the Khonds. In a majority of the instances, all those methods led them to obtain the cooperation of the leading men of the Khond society.[170]

However the entire operation for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice was mostly the work of two Agency Officers, Macpherson and John Campbell. Macpherson had his own method of winning the confidence of the Khonds. He mixed with them familiarly and conversed freely. He also gave them presents of cloth and tobacco, even money to purchase liquor. At every station, he was found to have distributed beads among the Khond women, who received them with expressions of gratitude and delight. Behind all these measures worked one objective, and that was to conciliate them. In fact he soon made the Khonds believe that he had no hostile designs in his visits to their mountain homes.[171]

Similarly John Campbell exhausted all his means to achieve his end in abolishing the Meriah sacrifice. However, both Macpherson and Campbell were too wise to content themselves with the mere suppression of the cruelities. For lasting effect both of them took energetic steps such as making roads, easing and safeguarding transport, increasing the number of markets and fairs, establishing schools and encourging communication between the hill tracts and the plains. Side by side, by adroit handling of the affairs, they could make the village headmen and the Khond Chiefs look to the British Officers for an impartial administration of jutice.[172]

Besides all those measures, the Agents utilised the services of the Hindu Patros and the Khond Chiefs called Khond Mallikas for the suppression of the practice. That was because they discovered that the Hindu Patros had become the connecting links between the Khonds and their superiors. Indeed the Khonds had always dreaded these Patros.[173] At

170. Campbell's Narrative, p. 207.

171. J.W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 506.

172. S. Pearce Carev, op. cit , p 21.

173. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1372G), Madras Government, A.C. McNeill, Agent to Governor General in Hill Tracts of Orissa to C.L.R. Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner, Godavery Division, February 25, 1862.

the same time they discovered that in the Khondmals, the Khond Chiefs and not the Rajas were the real rulers.[174] As such their friendship was of the utmost necessity for the purpose. So the British Officers often went out on shooting expeditions with the Khond Chiefs, talked with them, often made them presents which they liked most, smoked with them and became kind to their children, made visits to them during their ailments and gave medicines.

Side by side every Khond Chief was informed that the favours he received from the British Government would depend entirely upon his efforts for the suppression of human offerings. The majority of them promised to work towards this end. Individual efforts of the Khond Chiefs in this regard were not lacking. An example can be cited. Chengu Patro, one of the three great Patros of the Chinna Kimedy Malihas in Macpherson's time set his foot so resolutely against Meriah sacrifices, that he threatened to quit the country, and actually made a start to do so, if the Khonds did not abandon the practice. He was so much loved and respected by the Khonds that they agreed to abandon the practice lest they might lose him. They never again resumed this practice.[175] But often some Chiefs broke such promises to work for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice. Even in some places John Campbell narrated that 'they became turbulent'.[176] In this connection one native officer, sent by A.J.M. Mills in 1843 to Baud, had also reported, "The Khond chiefs glorified in a turbulent independence and were a set of rascals who did-not mind the orders of the authorities."[177]

However, the Agents and other British officers called periodical assemblies of the Khond Chiefs and explained to them the cruelty of the Meriah sacrifice. If a Chief were then found refractory and listening to no reason, his residence

174. Man in India, Vol II, Nos. 1-2, March-June 1922, p 81.
175. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1845G), Madras Government, R. Davidson, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam, to D F. Charmichael, Officiating Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, June 7, 1875, No. 122.
176. Campbell's Narrative, p. 109.
177. Angul Gazetteer, p. 31.

used to be discovered and quietly surrounded by British troops, causing him no injury whatsoever. "This simple demonstration of physical force", writes Campbell, "was sufficient to overcome his scruples...convert an enemy into an ally".[178] In certain places, the young women were retained by the Chiefs as concubines to be sacrificed afterwards to the Gods. Such Chiefs were persuaded to marry them and helped thereby in putting an end to the practice.[179]

And that was not all. The Agents also took the help of the Rajas and Zamindars for the suppression of the practice.

Of course the authority of the Rajas over the Khonds was nominal as the latter claimed themselves to be the original owners of the soil. The Khonds proclaimed a sort of independence and as such they paid no rent or taxes to the Rajas. Even then the Agents put necessary pressures on the Rajas to use their moral influence and power for the effectual repression of the practice. In this connection, it was on November 12, 1837 that Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of Vizagapatam, wrote to the Government suggesting that the Zamindars should be urged 'to use their influence within their own territories to prevent it'.[180]

In 1840 the Raja of Baud was asked by the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals to help in the rescue of two little boys and a girl, who were intended to be sacrificed. He complied with the request and in turn the Government presented him with a pair of shawls and a piece of Kinkhab as rewards. The persons who effected the rescue were also given a reward of sixteen rupees each. The children so rescued got a subsistence allowance of three rupees per month.[181] Further, in 1843, the Raja of Baud was instrumental in saving the lives of boy and a girl who were maintained by a Khond Sardar for the purpose of sacrifice. And for this work of his, the Government was pleased to grant to Raja complementary presents, a sum of

178 Campbell's Narrative, p. 109.
179. Ibid., p. 312.
180. K.K. Datta, *Social History of Modern India*, p. 271.
181. The Calcutta Review, Vol, LLXXVI, Jan-March, 1953, p. 26.

three rupees per month for the maintenance of each child was also sanctioned.[182]

Adoption of Other Measures for the Suppression of the Practice

The British Government also adopted a few more measures for the suppression of the practice. Such measures were the promotion of education and medical aid, construction of roads, establishment of fairs and appointment of the police. As Arbuthnot has pointed out, all these steps were taken 'to bring the Khonds within the pale of civilization' [183]

Considering the moral darkness of the Khonds the British Government thought of promoting education to breakdown their prejudices. In this connection, A.J.M Mills, the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, emphasised on the importance of education 'to the diffusion of which the British Government must mainly look for improving the state of the Taibutary Mahals'.[184] Among them there was no dearth of officers who were keen to do it. On Campbell's staff there was one Captain Frye, a university man and a born linguist. He spent four long years to initiate himself into Hindustani, Oriya, Telgu and even Persian and Sankrit languages.[185] He also gave the Kui tongue the first written form using the Oriya script. Frye even brought back from his furlough a lithographic press to print Kui books, and with it he went inside the Khond dominated regions.[186] In the Khond dialect the alphabet was printed for the first time. Consequently sufficient quantities of school books in the Khond language were prepared. While civilizing the Khonds, the British could acquire a more distinct knowledge of the social, moral and religious habits and customs of the Khonds. Side by side village schools were established. Of course the Khond Chiefs were at first reluctant to open any such school. They were

182. Ibid.
183. Quoted in The Calcutta Review, Vol. LLXXVI, Jan-March 1953, p. 26, Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of Vizagapatam, to the Government, November 12, 18›7.
184 Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Ascn 134), Mills' Minute, January 23, 1874.
185. S Pearce Carey, op cit., p. 27.
186 Ibid, pp. 23-24.

known to have asserted that calamities would visit them if they did so. Further they thought when for centuries they had lived happily without education, they should not go in for it then. However they were treated most indulgently. The Khonds were told that the Government's only motive was their welfare. No violence would be done to their feelings, nor would force be employed to make them embrace the British views.[187] Gradually some Khonds came forward to send their children to schools. A large number of schools had already been set up by the Missionaries.

Like opening up schools, the supply of medical aid constituted another meaningful step in this regard. The Khonds were known to have suffered greatly from the ravages of small pox and consequent loss of eyesight.[188] So Medical Officers were appointed in the Meriah Agency to give necessary medical aid to the Khonds. Some hospitals were also opened.

Construction of roads in the heart of the Khond country was yet another great step which the British took for civilizing the Khonds so that they would abandon the practice. Its importance was realised to make the exploration of the Khond area more easy.[189] Emphasising on the need for roads, A.J.M. Mills reported, "The opening of roads through the uncivilized and jungle countries will work as the greatest auxiliary of civilization".[190] Some rescued Meriah victims were employed in the construction of the new roads.

Furthermore fairs were organized in keeping with the suggestion of Lieutenant Macpherson in 1841. He had pointed out that such fairs would promote intercourse between the Khonds and the surrounding Hindu population, with the result these tribes would develop friendly and familiar contact with other men. And that would indirectly help in their abandoning the practice.[191] His suggestion was approved by the Supreme Government. Indeed such fairs brought about

187. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 178-180.
188. SRG (India), No. V, p. 92.
189 Campbell's Narrative, p. 77.
190. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Ascn 134), Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847.
191. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 92.

commercial prosperity for the Khonds. At the same time "it greatly tended", writes Kaye, "to strengthen and perpetuate British influence among the Khonds".[192]

There was yet another measure that the British Government effected for the abolition of Meriah sacrifice. They set up Police stations in the hill tracts, so that the supervision of the progress made in this direction would be easier. Disciplinary action could be taken as well.[193]

Lastly, the Agency Officers followd another policy of explaining to the Khonds the virtues of substituting goats or other animals in place of human victims.[194] In fact the non-sacrificing Khonds were found to have immolated a buffalo or a bullock before their Goddess.

Thus were general policies and principles decided and then necessary measures taken for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice. A place—wise resume of such operations is as follows.

peration for the Suppression of Meriah Sacrifice

Ghumsar

The operation started first in Ghumsar. That was probably because Meriah sacrifice had been detected there first.

It was in 1837 that two British Officers stationed at Ghumsar rescued some Meriahs during their tour. One of them was Captain Miller of the 43rd Regiment. At Coopauty in Gullery he managed with much discretion to rescue no less than twelve victims. Another officer was Stevenson who rescued seventeen of them, though one girl made her escape. However, out of them, ten were restored to their friends, and eighteen ranging from three to ten years of age remained with Stevenson and Captain Miller as their homes could not be traced[195] But no force was applied then.

192. J W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 510
193. N R. Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 193.
194. S Pearce Carey, op cit, p. 20.
195. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 55, Third Report on Goomsur, May 11, 1837.

Meanwhile the Governor-in-Council instructed the Board of Revenue to call upon the Sub-Collector, in charge of the district to make all endeavours to obtain information on the practice of sacrifices in Ghumsar. He was instructed further to exert his influence in convincing the Khonds of the heinousness and folly of this practice. He was also instructed to apply every means to encourage the intercourse of the Khonds with the public functionaries and the people of the low country.[196] Accordingly some Khonds were allowed entry to the public service either as peons or any other functionary as found suitable. He was told to cultivate as much personal intercourse as possible specially with the Khand Chiefs of Ghumsar.

Then Russell pioneered the operation for the prevention of Meriah sacrifices in Ghumsar. It was rightly in his memory that the headquarters of the Agency in the hill tracts of Orissa for the suppression of Meriah sacrifice and female infanticide was named Russelkonda* (Modern Bhanjanagar).[197]

Meanwhile, in 1837, with the termination of the hostilities with the Raja of Ghumsar, his dominion came under the authority of a high-ranking officer, known as 'Collector and Magistrate and Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George' in Ganjam.[198]

In conducting operations in Ghumsar, another young British officer worked most. He was John Campbell who had been Russell's Secretary and Assistant during the military operations in Ghumsar. He too was the Assistant Collector of Ganjam. As such extensively travelling over the area he had acquired a knowledge of the country and the people of the hill tracts in the Ganjam district. His local experience and personal influence on the hill chieftains thus gave him an advantage to deal with the matter more effectively.

Meanwhile in a report made to Madras Government on December 16, 1837, John Campbell sought their permission

196 Ibid , p. 72, Minutes of Consulation, November 21, 1837.

* Konda means a hillocck.

167. OHRJ, Vol VIII, Oct 1959-Jan 1960, Nos. 3-4, p. 161.

168. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 147.

to ascend the Ghats and convince the Khonds of the uselessness of the practice. He also sought permission to purchase the victims, if he could not otherwise obtain them, and spend a little money if necessary in gaining over the sacrificing priests.[199]

After obtaining the necessary permission John Campbell commenced his operations in December 1837. With him there was an irregular troop, raised and trained by himself for the purpose. He started with the summoning of an assembly of the Chiefs and leaders of a part of Ghumsar. They complied with his summons as they had known him well as the commander of the troops in the war against their late Raja. At the end of the war he had given them 'the turban of investiture'.[200] In the assembly of the Khonds John Campbell could discover the most influential Chief of Upper Ghumsar. He was Sham Bissoi whose cooperation Campbell could win. He explained his intended plan to Sham Bissoi, who in turn seconded his view and promised to extend all cooperation for the purpose. There was yet another Chief named Punda Naik who could be won over. However all the Chiefs of the villages and muthas of Ghumsar hills met Campbell with their Dagaloos (interpreters) at the hill fort of Bodiagherry There were then present about three thousand Khonds. Campbell addressed them while Punda Naik and Sham Bissoi, acted as interpreters. He told them that a new era had dawned upon them. They were no longer the subjects of their Raja, who had taken no interest in their welfare and happiness. It was by the fortunes of the war that they had become the subjects of the British Government. He also told them that they should realise the cruelty of the rite and realise that their welfare did not really depend upon the continuance of a rite that they had erroneously supposed to be efficacious. At the same time he also explained to them that he would not interfere with their religion or subvert their faith, but merely prohibit a custom which had not been sanctioned by the laws of God or

199. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 12-14, Campbell's Report, December 16, 1837.

200. Philip Woodruff, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 251.

man. If they gave up the cruel practice they would enjoy prosperity and peace under the protection of the Government. On the other hand their persistence in the practice might expose them to the danger of a conflict with the Government. His address bad considerable impact on the Chiefs and their followers. They humbly appealed to John Campbell to allow them one sacrifice to take place annually for the whole of the Khonds of Ghumsar. But John Campbell rejected this appeal out of hand.[201]

The assembly met for a second time. After some preliminary discussions five or six of the oldest and most influential of the Khond Chiefs came forward with their sentiments to be expressed on behalf of the majority of those present in the meeting They expressed themselves, thus, "We have always sacrificed human beings. Our fathers handed down the custom to us. Their thoughts were not wrong. We also felt that we were doing what was right. But we were then the subjects of the Rajas of Ghumsar; now we are subjects of the Great Government whose orders we must obey. If the earth refuses its produce, or disease destroys us it is not to be our fault; we will abandon the sacrifice and if permitted, like the inhabitants of the plains, we will sacrifice animals instead."[202]

Then the Chiefs took an oath peculiar to themselves. Seated on tiger skins, they held in their hands a little earth, rice and water, and repeated one by one, "May the earth refuse its produce, rice choke me, water drown me, and tiger davour me and my children, if I break the oath which I now take for myself and my people, to abstain for ever from the sacrifice of human beings".[203]

The oath being thus administered, the sword of Campbell then passed round from Chief to Chief, who touched it as a mark of submission on their part and of protection on the part of the Government. Presents given by Campbell were distributed among them. Here nearly one hundred victims

201. Campbell's Narrative, p. 65-73.
202. Ibid. p. 73.
203. Ibid. p. 74.

preserved to be sacrificed were delivered to Campbell. Some of the Chiefs of more distant villages who did not bring their Meriahs delivered a few a little later. Thus in less than one month one hundred and five victims of different ages were rescued from sure death. Of them some were restored to their relations on the plains and some others were taken to the low country. The civil and military officers took charge of a few and Campbell himself retained twelve as domestic servants to be employed as interpreters in his future intercourse with the Khonds.[204]

Similarly in the Chokapad and Passara muthas of Ghumsar several children believed to have been purchased were kept under great surveillance. Their names, appearances and places of residence were registered by Campbell.[205]

It was in 1838, that Campbell became active again for suppressing the practice. That year two notorious traders in children were seized and punished. This punishment had a deterrent effect on other traders.[206]

For the next four years Campbell remained very alert. He kept a strict watch over the Khonds by visiting them in their mountain homes once a year; even sometimes twice. During his visits he strengthened his influence more and more. Kid-nappers were also kept under strict watch. Three of them were brought to trial and were imprisoned. In addition to these measures, Campbell carefully registered the names and ages of all the Possiapoes or serfs, who were maintained by the Khond Chiefs. Some of them were also restored to their respective owners.[207]

Meanwhile the day of Meriah sacrifice approached. It was the 7th January. Campbell entered Ghumsar on the 4th January of 1 41 to keep an eye on such occurrences. But he found no sacrifice in Ghumsar although twenty four victims

204. Ibid. 74-75.

205 Meriah Reports, pp. 3-4, Campbell, Assistant Collector, to Acting Collec or of Ganjam and Officiating Commissioner for Ghoomsur and Surada, January 17, 1838.

2 6. Ibid, p. 5, J Campbell, Assistant Collector, to Commissioner of Ghoomsur and Surada, January 15, 1839.

207. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 76-79.

were reported to have been sold to the Khonds of the place. Out of them six were delivered to him. He tried to recover others through two Chief Bissois, namely Bahadur Bakshi, and Oatan Singh Dhola Behera and through some other Chiefs of minor influence.[208] Through them he could rescue eleven more victims, both male and female, ranging from thirteen to three years of age. Further during his visit Campbell learnt that in the previous year two children had been sacrificed, one by Jundu Mallika of Kumbarakupa and the other by Rama Mallika of Kurmingia. So Campbell opined that severe punishment be inflicted on the purchaser and the seller of the child as well as the sacrificer. Between January 1838 to January 1842 the total Meriahs rescued by Campbell were 125.[209]

Inspite of the successes, the measures adopted by John Campbell were viewed by the Madras Government as too aggressive. So, the Government instructed him to abide by Russell's recommendations strictly, such as advice and persuasion.[210] Meanwhile Campbell was withdrawn in 1842 and sent to China to join a regiment. Captain Macpherson was appointed to officiate in his place as the principal Assistant to the Governor's Agent in Ganjam.

Soon after his assumption of office, Captain Macpherson set out on his work. In the first instance he made a report to the Government on April 24, 1842 in which he stated the reasons as to why the Khonds had considered the observance of the rite as vital and unassailable.[211]

Inspite of this fact Captain Macpherson entered the Bara Mutha district of Ghumsar where he made the Khonds promise to relinquish henceforth the rite of the Meriah sacrifice. But they put forth certain conditions which were as follows.

"That they shall receive the immediate protection of the Government and shall always obtain justice from it.

208. Meriah Reports, p. 6. Campbell's Hill Tour Report for the year 1841, January 22, 1841.

209. Ibid, p. 7, Campbell's Report January 6, 1842.

210. Friend of India, September 28, 1854.

211. The Calcutta Review, Vol. 115, 1902, p. 63.

"That they shall be at liberty to sacrifice buffaloes, monkeys and goats to their deities with all the solemnities which are now observed on the occasions of Human sacrifice.

"That they shall be at liberty upon all occasions to denounce before their Gods, the Government, and some of its servants in particular, as the cause of their having at length relinquished the great rite."[212]

Macpherson however agreed to fulfil all such conditions.[213]

Meanwhile Macpherson communicated with the tribes of Atharah Mutha of Ghumsar. There nineteen out of the twenty one patriarchs met and remained with him for some time. After prolonged discussions these patriarchs agreed to send victims to Macpherson in a few days. Then they returned to their muthas. Seven weeks later they sent the intimation to Macpherson that with the exception of Loharingia and Guttingia they had agreed to abolish this rite at all places. All the victims with the exception of ten or eleven who remained in those tracts were also sent to Macpherson. But in Chokapad, Macpherson could not convince the people to abolish it. So, considering the time not ripe for the appeal, Macpherson returned. Meanwhile he got the information that at a place called Hodzoghoro more than fifty victims had been preserved and the people had resolved there to resort to the practice of secret offerings, Macpherson could also know that such was the intention of the Khonds at Loharingia and Guttingia. They were waiting for the full moon to come. So Macpherson suggested for an immediate employment of a party to construct two roads, one from Sonepur to Sambalpur and the other one through the Khond tracts of Ghumsar, passing from Kurmingia Ghat to the Ganjam coast. Earlier Campbell had estimated the cost of such roads at five thousand rupees.[214]

Meanwhile once more in January 1843, Captain Macpherson, accompanied by Captain Mackenzie of his own regiment,

212. Meriah Reports, p 14, Macpherson's Report, August 18, 1842.
213. Ibid.
214. Meriah Reports, p. 16, Macpherson's Report, August 18, 1842.

ascended the Ghats. They were pained to see the sacrifices being performed daily.[215]

In this situation Macpherson devised a new plan. He planned and succeeded at the end to form in every branch of the tribe a strong anti-sacrificing party. In it, he included about two-thirds of the Khonds of influence.[216]

Then Macpherson, like Campbell, became exceedingly anxious to secure the co-operation of Sham Bissoi whom the wanted to employ as a link between the Government and the Khonds. But while Macpherson was on the Ghats, Sham Bissoi was on the plains below. So communication was established with the help of another British officer, Bannerman. On his return from the plains, Sham Bissoi went up to the hills, and falsely stating that Bannerman had given him authority to sacrifice six victims, he sacrificed one at his own place and induced the Khonds to sacrifice two more.[217]

Thus the anti-sacrificing party could not prevent the sacrificers from performing the rite. The result was that Sham Bissoi was removed from the office and from the country as well.[218]

Meanwhile Captain Macpherson in his letter of August 1842 written to Bannerman emphasised on the administration of justice among the Khonds, reiterating its reasons. He stated that "these strange Hill people had a wild, unsatisfactory method of settling all disputes among themselves, and they were eager for the establishment of better ordered tribunals to which, in their difficulties, they might be take themselves for substantive justice."[219] So Macpherson informed the Khonds that Bannerman would hereafter preside over the judicial councils, and they hailed this offer with great delight.[220]

With the formation of a separate Meriah Agency in 1845,

215. Macpherson's Memorials, pp. 187-188.
216. Ibid, p. 189.
217. Macpherson's Memorials, pp. 191-192.
218. Ibid, p. 196.
219. J W. Kaye, *The Administration of the East India Company*, p. 507.
220. Ibid, pp. 507-508.

the operations in Ghumsar became more active.[221] Captain Macpherson with his two Assistants, namely, Dr. J. Cadenhead, and Lieutenant MacViccar, started brisk operations. That was because of a wide-spread Khond rebellion which broke out in Ghumsar in December 1846. This rebellion was directed by Chakra Bissoi, an influential Khond leader of Ghumsar, Nabaghana Khonro, another leader from Baud and to some extent by the Raja Somnath Singh of Angul.[222] They induced the Khonds not to surrender the Meriahs to the British Agents. However, the British Government proceeded to quell the rebellion. There were a few skirmishes and no regular fighting. The Khonds fled into the jungles on the approach of the armed forces. The rebellion was thus quelled.[223]

Thus it is to be observed that no substantial progress could be achieved in the suppression of the practice when Macpherson was in charge of the operations.[224]

Meanwhile it was in 1847 that Campbell returned to Ghumsar and resumed his duty. This time his operation was more successful. The Chairman of the Court of Directors, J.L. Lashington, expressed his satisfaction to Lord Dalhousie, over the success of Campbell in his letter of June 24, 1848, "It is most satisfactory to learn that Colonel Campbell has been successful in the Ghoomsur country and we may have hope, an end will be put to those horrid Human sacrifices among the Khonds".[225] Indeed it was owing to the sincere efforts of Campbell that by January 1848, Meriah sacrifice had almost come to an end in Ghumsar. Inspite of human blood not being poured upon the soil, the Khonds were found to have attained an uninterrupted prosperity.[226]

However, this practice in Ghumsar was known to have taken place occasionally at certain places and at certain times.

221. Madras Presidency Manual, Vol. II, pp. 77-78.
222. HFMO, Vol. I p. 178.
223. Angul Gazetteer, p. 29.
224. N.R. Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 203.
225. Quoted in Man in India, Vol. 36, Jan-March 1956, No. 1, p. 32.
226. Campbell's Narrative, p. 106.

It was in January, 1853 that in Risingia of Atharah Mutha of Upper Ghumsar, Birsa Mallika was reported to have sacrificed a young lad of twenty years of age whom he had kidnapped from Daspalla by paying 150 rupees in kind. Four months after, in June 1855, four Meriahs were also sacrificed by Damara Mallika and Singara Mallika at Risingia of Ghumsar. The unfortunate victims in three of these cases were one elderly woman of the Pana caste, her grown up daughter and an infant, who had been kidnapped from Daspalla for 450 rupees. The fourth victim was a middle-aged woman enticed away from the Lower Ghumsar and for whom 150 rupees were known to have been paid to the kidnappers.[227]

There were yet a few more instances of sacrifices in Ghumsar area. In January 1857, two such sacrifices were made at Rodungia of Atharah Mutha. One of the victims was a lad named Mongoliah of the Pana caste who was enticed away in the month of December 1856 from the house of a herdsman in the Daspalla Zamindary under the pretence of getting him married. The lad, innocent of his fate, was then taken to Atharah Mutha. Three days later he was sold to the Khonds of Borimundah village for 120 rupees. The other victim was a lad named Petcara, kidnapped from the plains.[228]

In January 1858, two more victims were sacrificed in the same Atharah Mutha. One of the victims was a young man named Ramachendria who had been kidnapped from Lower Ghumsar in December 1857 and sold for 80 rupees. The second one was a destitute woman who had been enticed away.[229] When the news of all these occurrences reached the Agent MacNeill, he immediately despatched a guard under an experienced Gumasta. They unearthed a number of bones of the victims. The Khonds then did not attempt to deny their guilt. The guilty parties were apprehended thereafter.[230]

Then MacNeill made a search for any other victims waiting for their doom. He came to know of the two females kept at

227. Meriah Reports, p. 71, MacNeill's Report, May 14, 1859.
228. Neriah Reports, pp. 71-72, MacNeill's Report May 14, 1859.
229. Ibid., p. 72.
230. Ibid, p. 70, MacNeill's Report, June 7, 1858.

Risingia in Atharah Mutha of upper Ghumsar as Meriahs. The day of their sacrifice had not been fixed. Meanwhile both of them were rescued.[231]

Further in 1858, two Chiefs of Risingia, namely Birsa and Damara, were reported to have taken measures for sacrificing two Meriahs. When MacNeill came to know of it, he sent troops to them for rescuing the Meriahs. On their approach both of them fled to the hills; however, they were subsequently apprehended and brought to trial. They were penalised for their misdeeds. Then the intended Meriahs were rescued and kept under Government protection.[232]

Having learnt of the casual occurrences of the sacrifices, MacNeill went round Ghumsar to see if any were about to be performed. But he was happy to learn that except at Atharah Mutha there was not even the rumour of a sacrifice anywhere else in Ghumsar.[233]

Even then in 1860 a young girl intended for sacrifice in the Ghumsar hill tracts was rescued. But the Government became stern thereafter. It was at Udaygiri in July 1865 that for the first time three abettors were executed for sacrificing a Meriah in the Ghumsar Maliah. The sacrifice was made in consequence of sickness in the suppliant's family, and the victim, a youth was known to have belonged to the Meriah caste.[234]

Thereafter the Meriah sacrifice was not heard of in Ghumsar.

Baud and Daspalla

It was at the same time that the operation for the suppression Meriah sacrifice was launched in two Gadjat States, namely Baud and Daspalla, Here the mode of operation was somewhat different as those two States, unlike Ghumsar, were under the control of Rajas and that of the Commissioner and

231. Ibid.
232. Meriah Reports, p. 72, MacNeill's Report, May 14, 1859.
233. Ibid, p. 73.
234. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2784G), Madras Government. March 20, 1866, Inspector General of Madras Police, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, January 24, 1866.

Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in Cuttack. Further till 1845 the Baud State was included in the South Western Frontier Agency under the control of the Governor General's Agent stationed at Ranchi, or Kishenpur as it was called then. Thereafter it was put under the Commissioner of the Tributary States.[235]

It was on February 23, 1837 for the first time that the Commissioner, Henry Ricketts, heard from Russell in his meeting at Ghumsar about the prevalence of an extensive system of Meriah sacrifice among the Khonds of Baud and Daspalla. On his return to Daspalla he made sure of the prevalence of the practice and succeeded in forcibly rescuing twenty-four victims, eighteen girls and six boys. He held discussion with the chiefs of the Khonds who promised that if he abstained from the use of force, the system would be given up at once.[236]

Meanwhile Ricketts went inside Baud where Mahadeb Khonro and Nabaghana Khonro were reported to have been the leaders of the Khonds. On his return he made some recommendations to the Bengal Government. One such recommendation was to seek the cooperation of the Rajas for abolishing the horrid rites. That was because those States were situated at a great distance from the British controlling authority at Cuttack. As such the Rajas, if they liked, might conceal the practice being performed in their estates. The second recommendation was the despatch of a strong party once a year from Cuttack to march through the conntry, from end to end, with an officer authorised to sentence immediately to death, any person who was proved guilty of the crime. He argued that such an action would have a beneficial effect in two ways. While abolishing Meriah sacrifices it would help in putting an end to the constant feuds between the Rajas and the Khonds Chiefs. Ricketts also made an observation during his tour lasting for six weeks, that two thousand rupees would be the cost for a party of four companies with an officer to

235. Man in India, Vol. II, March-June 1922, Nos. 1-2, p. 80, Editor's Ethnography in old official record'.

236. SRG (India), No. V. p. 72, Rickets' Report, February 23, 1837.

undertake such a march. And that officer on duty must be specially vested with authority in Baud and Daspalla. His third recommendation was the establishment of a strong post in the Khond dominated areas.[237]

In turn, the Bengal Govenrment agreed to the recommendations of Ricketts with certain changes. He was advised to bring a moral change among the Khonds through general instructions. Government wrote that should the Khond Chiefs be found either unable or unwilling to exert themselves effectively for the maintenance of order and suppression of crime, British troops might be sent for occupying the tract. However, the time was not yet ripe for the adoption of such a measure.[238]

Meanwhile A.J.M. Mills succeeded Ricketts as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals. He sent a report in 1843 that he had deputed a trustworthy native officer, the Tahasildar, with two Chuprasees into the Khond muthas for effecting suppression. He had asked them not to use force. On the contrary, they were to seek the cooperation of the Rajas of Baud and Daspalla in the accomplishment of their objective. This mission of A.J.M. Mills was attended with some success. The Khond Chiefs, while giving up eight children, also promised to restore seventeen others, Meanwhile the Tahasildar had to quit the country due to sickness, leaving behind a Chuprasee to receive the Meriahs, if any, who were to be surrendered.[239]

On inquiry, the Khond Chiefs admitted that they were aware of the orders given by the Raja.[240] If they continued to perform the rite even then, it was unmistakably due to the fact that the Raja had little or no power of control over the Khonds; and consequently the orders of the British authorities had remained a dead letter.[241]

237. SRG (India), No. V, p. 74, Ricketts' Report, February 23, 1837.
238. Ibid, p. 75, Bengal Government's Report to Ricketts, March 14, 1837.
239. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 75-76, Mills' Report, June 2, 1843,
240. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December, 1846, p 88.
241. Angul Gazetteer, p. 27.

So, A.J.M. Mills suggested that conciliatory measures alone would not effect the suppression of the rite, and application of force if necessary had to be resorted to.[242] And an European officer of experience and qualified by disposition and character for the duty, be appointed for the purpose. While commanding the Khurda Paik Company he was to be made the ex-officio Assistant to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, on a suitably increased salary. He would make a tour through the Khond Mahals every year and act in unison with Captain Macpherson.[243] Captain Hicks was appointed against the post on February 23, 1844.

Meanwhile Mills sounded his views in form of instructions to Captain Hicks for necessary action during his tour in Baud and Daspalla. He was to publish prohibitory notices mentioning therein that rewards would be given to those who observed their pledges and that punishment would be given to those who made the sacrifices. The purchasers and kidnappers of Meriah victims were to be captured at once and sent to the court for trial. The Khond Chiefs and local Rajas were to be won over for abandoning the practice.[244]

With such instructions, Captain Hicks went on his first mission to the Khond country of Baud in 1844 and succeeded in rescuing twenty-three victims varying from three to nineteen yeare of age. There were eleven boys and twelve girls. Further he induced twenty-six Khond Sardars to subscribe to an unconditional agreement, pledging themselves to refrain from the horrid practice. He also succeeded in gaining the cooperation of the Raja and Nabaghana Khonro, the head of the Khond Chiefs. Through them he effected the release of the victims mentioned above. On his return from Baud, Captain Hicks proceeded to Daspalla. Here the Khonds assembled immediately at the bidding of the Raja. He had kept them under control and in proper subjection. But Hicks could not find any trace of Meriah at the time.[245]

242. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December, 1846, p. 49.

243. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 76-77, Mills' Report, June 2, 1863.

244. SRG (India), No. V, p. 78, Mills' Report, June 2, 1843.

245. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 79-81, Mills' Report, June 1, 1844.

After extensively travelling over the area, Captain Hicks made certain recommendations which A.J.M. Mills forwarded to the higher authorities. The recommendations were to keep a native Agent at Baud; to allow him a guard undern a European officer on his next visit; to place an European Sergeant at his disposal to superintend the construction of a passable road through the Barmul defile; to depute a person versed in survey to assist him in making a topographical survey of Baud and Daspalla.[246]

Mills pressed the Bengal Government for active and intelligent officers to be deputed annually for improving relations with the Khonds and expressing the British views on the Meriah sacrifice.[247] In this way he hoped to induce the Khonds to substitute animals and sign agreements, making Meriah sacrifice a punishable crime.[248]

In 1845 Captain Hicks started his second mission into Baud and Daspalla. He took the route through Nayagarh and crossed the Durgaprasad Pass, the barrier between the Khond Maliahs and the Khalisa of Daspalla, and reached the State of Daspalla. Through the Raja he summoned all the Khond Sardars to meet at the village Balscoopa. They all complied. The Raja himself also attended the meeting. Hicks explained to them the determination of the Government to put down the practice of Meriah sacrifice. Hicks also tried to elicit information as to whether any had been privately immolated that year. But he failed to learn anything in this regard. The Khonds claimed to have abolished Meriah sacrifices and to have substituted animals for human beings in obedience to the orders of Government. Hicks also believed that the rite, if practised at all, had certainly lost the intensity and its frequency was perceptibly on the decrease. He reported further, "When formerly it was more than a hundred, now it was very few and those few were killed in secret, without the customary parade or display."[249]

246. SRG (India) No. V, p. 84, Mills' Report, June 1, 1844.
247. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December 1846, p. 101, Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the District of Ganjam and Cuttak and Various Official Documents.
248. Barbara M. Boal. *The Konds*, p. 49.
249. SRG (India), No. V, p. 86, Mills' Report, June 16, 1845.

Then from Daspalla Captain Hicks proceeded to Ranigunge in Baud which happened to be associated with the residence of a very influential Khond Chief named Madhab Khonro. From there he went to Burgatcha. But to his surprise he found villages deserted as the Khonds had fled into the hills on hearing of the arrival of Hicks. However, they returned to the villages at night, yelling and shouting. Unprotected that Captain Hicks was, he was put in a very serious and dangerous predicament. He waited in the camp with calm determination and fortitude. Several days later some of the Chiefs came to him in an intoxicated state. They ascribed their flight to the mistaken fear of the exaction of tributes for the Raja. However, Captain Hicks ascertained from them that there had been no sacrifices at Burgatcha during the previous year. He persuaded all the influential men of the area to pledge themselves to abstain from these inhuman practices in future.[250]

From Burgatcha, Captain Hicks retraced his steps towards the Khalisa and encamped at Bolscoopa. There he received information that the Khonds of Surmundah were preparing to sacrifice a victim. After repeated threats a boy preserved as victim was recovered. But the Khond Chief of Ruttai Baria refused to give up several Meriahs kept in his possession. He even refused to attend on Captain Hicks. In turn Captain Hicks recommended punishment for him.[251]

Thus Captain Hicks rescued twelve victims in all. But he ascertained that thirteen victims had already been slaughtered since his last visit and hundreds had been formerly killed. So he recommended a more systematic and vigorous course of action [252]

Captain Hicks wanted to institute a native establishment in the Khond-dominated areas so as to facilitate the despatch of information about all that was going on inside the country. Accepting this view Mills recommended for such an establishment with a native Agent on a salary of thirty rupees per

250. Ibid, p. 87.
251. Ibid. p. 88.
252. Ibid.

mensem, to be assisted by a Police establishment comprising of one jemadar and twenty burkundauzes with a monthly salary of rupees ten for the former and six each for the latter. This establishment was to be stationed at Ramgiri, on the river Mahanadi, about nine miles from Baud.[253]

Meanwhile Captain Macpherson went on leave. The Assistant Surgeon Cadenhead remained in charge of his office. He wrote a letter to the Government in March 1845 giving a comparative picture of the state of affairs in Ghumsar and the State of Baud. It was on account of there being different controlling authorities at the two places that while in Ghumsar a part of the Khond community had already abandoned the practice, in Baud the orders of the Government with regard to the delivery of victims had been set at naught and the authority of the Raja had been openly resisted.[254] He therefore suggested that all Khond dominated areas be brought under one uniform system of control. This suggestion culminated in the formation of the Meriah Agency. Baud was then removed from the jurisdiction of the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals and placed under the direct control of Captain Macpherson, who took charge of the new office of the Agent.

Meanwhile in 1846, for the first time Captain Macpherson proceeded to Baud in the capacity of the Agent. As he had little reliance on the cooperation of the Raja, he himself addressed the Khonds directly with the result that in a matter of seven days the holders of the victims made over more than 170 of them to him.[255] This was certainly a hopeful beginning. The expectations in forming the new Agency had yielded some results.[256]

On the whole, however, the first campaign of Captain Macpherson was not that successful.[257] The jealousy of the

253. Ibid, p. 89.
254. SRG (India), No. V, p. 71, Cadenhead's Report, March 15, 1845.
255. SRG (India), No. V, p. 98.
256. Campbell's Narrative, p. 88.
257. SRG (Bengal), No. III, A J M. Mills' Papers on the Settlement of Cuttack and on the State of the Tributary Mahals, 1847, p. 63, Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847.

Raja created a further obstacle in the introduction of the direct authority of the Government into the Khond country of Baud.[258] While the Baud Khonds voluntarily agreed to submit to the general authority of the Government and give up the sacrifice, the Raja and his uncle were found to have impressed upon them the idea that the Government had no sincere desire to abolish the sacrifice and that the Government would yield ground when a general demonstration of resistance was put up.[259]

So within a week, the Khond tribes put up demonstrations against Macpherson. Secret Councils were held with Chakra Bissoi as the leader. He could convince the Khonds by telling them that the real motive of the Government was to measure and assess all their lands, subject all people to forced labour, and punish the leading men for having performed sacrifices in the past.[260] This so inflamed the Khonds that on March 14, 1846 an armed mob assembled before Macpherson's camp at Bisipara, six miles south of Phulbani and demanded the restoration of the victims delivered to him expressing their determination for the sacrifice, as they were not prepared any more for the loss of all their rights. The circumstances being as they were, Captain Macpherson held the Raja of Baud responsible for this demonstration.[261] But, the Raja was in fact a poor imbecile of a youth, utterly incapable of influencing Khonds or others for good or evil.[262] However, he promised to bring back the Khonds to the right state of mind. After prolonged deliberations, Captain Macpherson entrusted the victims to the Raja, and retired across the Ghumsar frontier.[263]

Thus it is to be observed that if the Khonds resisted it was not for continuing with the practice or for the fear of taxation.

258. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 245.
259. SRG (Bengal), No III, A J.M. Mills, Papers on the Settlement of Cuttack and on the State of the Tributary Mahals, 1847, p. 63, Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847.
260. SRG (India), No. V, p. 98.
261. Meriah Reports, p. 25.
262. Campbell's Narrative, p. 88.
263. Meriah Reports, p. 25.

It was for the protection of their rights and privileges a fact which A.J.M. Mills sensed during his last visit to Angul.[264]

However, flushed with success, the Khonds attacked Macpherson's camp for a second time. The Raja was then in the camp. The Khonds, wronly concluding that he was a prisoner in the camp demanded his release. To pacify them, the Raja was sent back with them to Baud.[265]

It was with a view to recovering his lost prestige that Captain Macpherson revisited the above areas in November 1846 and burnt down some villages.[266] This unwise measure infuriated the Khonds of Baud. So they joined the Khond revolt in Ghumsar under Chakra Bissoi. Meanwhile Captain Dunlop, who was commanding the Paik Company stationed at Baud, also burnt down the villages of the Khond rebels and destroyed their crops. He was of the opinion that it was the only way to bring the insurgents to subjection.[267] When this critical state of affairs was intimated to the Supreme Government, they were alarmed and asked the authorities at Madras to depute an experienced general officer, with sufficient force, to proceed from Ghumsar to quell the disturbances. Accordinly General Dyce was sent for the purpose.[268] Marching quickly into the disturbed area and applying judicious measures, he could restore tranquility. Soon thereafter there developed a difference of opinion between Captain Macpherson and General Dyce. Finally the Government of India removed Macpherson from his office in 1847. At the same time, they instructed General Dyce to induce the Khonds to abandon the rite gradually. And for this he was to apply the measures

264. SRG (Bengal), No. III. A.J.M. Mills' Papers on the Settlement of Cuttack and on the State of the Tributary Mahals. p. 63, Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847.

265. Campbell's Narative, p. 89.

266. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 255.

267. Campbell's Narrative, p 90;
Quoted in P Mukherjee's *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. 205. Captain Dunlop, Commander of Paik Company on deputation to Baud, to F. Gouldsbury, March 10, 1847.

268. Campbell's Narrative, p. 91.

of conciliation and persuasion and not those of force or violence.[269]

On April 21, 1847 John Campbell received the charge of the office from Captain Macpherson. Soon thereafter he visited Baud, where peace* had not yet been completely restored. In fear of severe punishment the Khonds fled to their forests on Campbell's arrival.[270] It was at this hour that Campbell remained absent. He was required to proceed to Angul as the Commander of the expedition to dispose its Raja.

In the absence of Campbell his Assistant, Captain MacViccar, took over his duties. He made an effort to rescue the Meriahs in Baud. He could succeed in rescuing a young boy from the jaw of the cruel death whose preliminary ceremonies had been over. Four of the Khond Chiefs involved in the outrage were also captured. They remained as prisoners in the camp until the arrival of Campbell from Angul.[271] I seems that all such action brought about a change in the attitude of the Khonds. By the time Campbell returned to Baud, all the influential men there, with only one or two exceptions, had pledged themselves with solemn oaths to abandon Meriah sacrifice thereafter.[272]

When Campbell marched to Baud in 1849, he learnt to his great satisfaction that not one drop of blood had been shed that year at the altar of the barbarous superstition, nor was manifested in any quarter the least desire to break the oath of

269. Quoted in P Mukherjee's *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. 206, G.H. Busby, Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, to General Dyce, March 27, 1847.

270. Campbell's Narrative, p. 94.

* Due to some political reasons the Raja of Angul, Somnath Singh, became hostile to the British Government. His defiant attitude and involvement in certain unwarranted occurrences brought about a collision with the British. John Campbell was sent on an expedition to Angul to depose the Raja And the Raja was declared to be deposed by a proclamation of the Government on December 11, 1847.

271. Campbell's Narrative, p. 101.

272. E.T. Dalton, op cit., p. 291.

abstinence which the Khonds had taken the previous year. This time he could recover one hundred fresh victims and all those who had absconded from Nuagaon.[273]

When, in 1850, Campbell fell ill, his Assistant Captain MacViccar visited Baud and learnt that no blood had been shed there. So he gave rewards to a few of the Khond Chiefs for their good conduct.[274] Finally, when Campbell paid a visit in 1853, he recorded that in Baud Meriah sacrifice was not even spoken of among the Khonds, what to mention of its occurrence[275] The same view about Baud was also expressed by the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, E.A. Samuells, when he paid a visit in 1853-54.[276]

Chinna Kimedy

The operations in Chinna Kimedy marked another important chapter in the history of the suppression of Meriah sacrifice.

In November 1848, John Campbell, after completion of the necessary preparations, entered Chinna Kimedy hills. Since the Khonds were not prepared to give up the practice they cooked up a plot against him. They also decided to sacrifice on one day all the victims that they had preserved. When Campbell learnt of this, he went with an armed force and saved the lives of all the intended victims.[277]

Meanwhile Campbell could manage to conciliate and gain the confidence of the Raja Adikanda Deo of Chinda Kimedy and his tributary Raghunath Deo, the Tat Raja of Guddapur. Their subordinate Chiefs were also gained over. This measure of Campbell's was of profound help to him.[278]

273. SRG (India), No. V, p. 112, Campbell's Report, March 17, 1849.
274. Campbell's Narrative, p. 181.
275. Ibid, p. 233.
276. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 165), E.A. Samuells, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, June 17, 1854.
277. Campbell's Narrative, p 123.
278. JOH, Vol. VII, No. 1, June 1987, p. 35, N.R. Patnaik's 'History of the Operations of Meriah Agency in Chinna Kimedy for the suppression of Human sacrifice'.

Then Campbell started explaining to the Khonds the noble intentions of the British Government. He went to the district of Mahasingi where he found one hundred purchased individuals some of whom had been fettered with irons on their wrists and ankles, so that they could not escape. On further inquiry he learnt that fifty-four of this number were destined for the sacrifice, and the rest were the Possiapoes owned and maintained either by the Oriya inhabitants or by the Khond Majis. So Campbell first ordered the release of those Possiapoes. Their names were registered after which they were redelivered to the owners with whom an agreement was signed to the effect that the owners would preserve them carefully and produce them if and when required. Campbell then proceeded to the fertile districts of Sarungudda, Chandragiri and Deegi where he found no such occurrence. But he also found that even though there had been no Meriah sacrifice, the fields were quite productive.[279]

Then Campbell managed to get an agreement drawn up which all the principal Khond Chiefs signed promising therein to give up the horrid practice. He also rescued two hundred and six Meriah victims in Chinna Kimedy. The Raja of Chinna Kimedy himself sent to Campbell five Meriahs from Beracote. At this time certain designing persons spread a rumour that Campbell was collecting Meriahs for the purpose of sacrificing them to the water deity on the plains because water had disappeared from a large tank which Campbell had constructed.[280] But this rumour had no effect on the Khond Chiefs. Meanwhile Campbell left Chinna Kimedy and Captain Frye took over the charge. An excellent officer that he was, Frye devoted himself energetically to the strengthening of the work left unfinished by Campbell.[381] On December 22, 1849, he started on a tour through the hills of Chinna Kimedy. He rescued some victims of whom, he reported, a large proportion were women with children born to the men who had purchased them. So he stipulated that such a Meriah should be taken

279. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 126-128.
280. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 128-129.
281. Ibid., p. 134.

as the wife of her owner, and the children, if any, as his heirs.[282]

Once a sensational event took place while Captain Frye was on tour. He rescued one young and handsome girl, from the place of sacrifice where the priest and the Khonds were also present. But when Frye took away the girl, the Khonds slaughtered the aged priest barbarously to satisfy their superstitious cravings.[283] Of course afterwards those people were properly dealt with by Captain Frye. However, sacrifices among them began to decrease therefter. Even then Captain Frye estimated that the average number of Meriahs annually sacrificed in Chinna Kimedy ranged from fifteen to twenty.[284]

Meanwhile in 1850-51, a great portion of Chinna Kimedy was visited by Captain MacViccar. He found that the sacrifice was in abeyance, if not completely abolished. In Pudamari, the capital of Chinna Kimedy, he was happy to see a goat substituted for the human victim in Durga Puja.[285] However, human flesh was constantly brought over the Jeypore frontier to be buried in Chinna Kimedy's paddy-fields.[286]

In this way the sacrifice of Chinna Kimedy began to diminish from year to year.

Campbell, after his return to the post in 1851, went inside Chinna Kimedy and settled fifty seven persons in all in eighteen of the Meriah families.[287] Next year Campbell proceeded to Bondigam and rescued one victim, who happened to be a girl of six. One leader was also captured there. Then Campbell's Assistant, Lieutenant MacNeill, captured three Chiefs in the western part of Chinna Kimedy. They were the joint

282. Meriah Reports, p. 36.
283. Campbells' Narrative p. 177.
284. Meriah Reports, p. 36.
285. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 118-119, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.
286. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 75.
287. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2214A KCR), Madras Government, J Campbell, Agent in Hill Tracts of Orissa to Secretary to Government of India, April 10, 1852, No. 101.

prepetrators of a sacrifice at Solavesca of Baracuma. From there the victim's flesh was known to have been brought to Possunga.• The people came to Campbell afterwards voluntarily in a body, and told him to give them any punishment for the offence that they had committed. Campbell dismissed them and sent them to their respective villages but detained only the Khonds who had brought the fragments of the victim to Possunga.[288] Later on four Meriahs and fourteen Possiahs from Parighur were delivered to Campbell.

In 1852 in Chinna Kimedy, three sacrifices were reported, to have been perpetrated at Goorja Deo, Goomaghur, and Lonkagooda. Those were three out-of-the-way villages never before visited by Campbell. But later on they remained true to their pledge not to perpetrate the crime any more.[289]

There was yet another tribe at Toopunga, which constituted the rugged part of Chinna Kimedy. This region was very difficult of access. As such the people were very wild and unruly. They had been at variance with the Oriya Chief of Subarnagiri for a long time past. They even refused to come or give up their Meriahs when the British Agent tried over three successive seasons. They were determined to resist the Government at any cost. The villagers told Campbell to leave their area, failing which they would make him a Meriah. Meanwhile they assembled at one place to fight with Campbell. Campbell then set fire to that place and faced them courageously. So they fled to the Oriya Chief of the district, Buchadur Patro, who compelled them to come to Campbell. Then they came and made an unconditional submission. Many Khond Chiefs expressed the greatest satisfaction over the punishment given to the people of Toopunga. This indeed worked as a warning to all those who opposed the orders of the Government for the suppression of the Meriah.[290]

In November 1853, Campbell revisited Chinna Kimedy. The Khonds then assembled in crowds in his camp. In order to become friendly with themhe exchanged with them the produces

288. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 220-221.
289. Meriah Reports, p. 44, Campbell's Report, April 10, 1852.
290. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 222-224.

of their fields, for money, salt, bread, or pieces of cloth that he had brought with him. The Chief informed him that almost all the Merihas had been removed. In that season there were found only seventeen Meriahs in the whole of Chinna Kimedy, and these were again delivered up voluntarily by their owners.[291]

Meanwhile the Assistant Munshi was deputed to Chinna Kimedy to visit twenty two muthas of Mahasingi, twenty six of Subarnagiri and four of Guddapur. He did so. But he could not detect any sacrifice, that had taken place. No new Meriahs were discovered either. The Khonds stated that they were contented and happy and had already relinquished thoughts of Meriah sacrifice.[292]

On the whole till 1858 more than one thousand Meriahs and Possiahs were rescued in Chinna Kimedy in various seasons, and numerous parties implicated in the sacrifices were seized by the subordinate officers.[293]

In 1859, Chinna Kimedy was visited by the Agent, A.C. MacNeill. He was happy to learn that the natives of Chinna Kimedy were performing public sacrifice of buffaloes, which showed that these Khonds had relinquished the Meriah sacrifice. Of course they did it out of a sense of compulsion. They had still the innate desire to sacrifice human beings. So MacNeill prohibited even the sacrifice of buffaloes or other animals because that might bring the memory of human sacrifice back to their minds, in which case they might be inclined to take up the practice again. However conciliatory measures were adopted. At the instance of MacNeill the Khond Chiefs explained to villagers that in future animal sacrifice would be offered only to the village deities and not to the deity to whom Meriah sacrifice was made.[294]

291. Campbell's Narrative, p 239.
292. Meriah Reports, p. 69, MacNeill's Report, April 16, 1858.
293 Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1837G), A.C. MacNeill, Agent in Hill Tracts of Orissa, to W. Knox, Acting Agent to Governor of Fort St. George, March 15, 1852.
A C MacNeill, Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, to C. Beadon, Secretary to Government of India, March 22, 1858.
294. Meriah Reports, pp. 73-74, MacNeill's Report, May 1:, 1859.

Thereafter nineteen new Meriahs were rescued, all of whom were women with children. They were then given back in adoption to their owners on the personal security of the Hindu Chiefs. Similarly twenty-nine Possiahs were also registered and allowed to remain with their owners. They had been at one time purchased and employed as agrarian slaves. Now being registered, they were brought under Government supervision.[295]

In 1861, Lieutenant Crauford, the Assistant to MacNeill, proceeded to the muthas of Balliguda, Borikiya, Possunga, and Beremullico of the Chinna Kimedy tracts. He found that the inhabitants there had renounced Meriah sacrifice for ever. And thirteen Meriahs concealed hitherto were surrendered. The Lieutenant Crauford proceeded to Orladhoni of Kharonde, where five Meriahs were rescued. From there he went to Lankaghar, Jiripani, and Belghur muthas of Subarnagiri. In Jiripani twelve Meriahs were given up after some delay, but were eventually given in adoption on the security of the Oriya Chiefs. Thus Lieutenant Crauford in rescuing thirty Meriahs in all in that season in Chinna Kimedy.[296]

Thus it was by 1861 that the Meriah sacrifice was completely abandoned in Chinna Kimedy.

Maji Deso

The suppression of Meriah sacrifice in Maji Deso was an equally interesting matter. Although far superior in civilization to their neighbours of Baud and Ghumsar hills, the Khonds of this region never cared to stop the practice till as late as 1850. Moreover, the practice prevalent there was not to preserve the Meriahs but to purchase the victims immediately before the sacrifice. It was in 1830 that Captain MacViccar for the first time marched to this place. The Khonds there tried to escape from the vigilance of MacViccar. But MacViccar exerted his influence so much that ultimately he scored a complete success. The few Meriahs awaiting their

295. Ibid, pp, 74-75.
296. Ibid, p. 85, MacNeill's Report May 25, 1861.

fatal end were delivered up to him. Each Chief also took the oath of renouncing the Meriah Puja thereafter.[297]

Patna

In the Feudatory State of Patna, the operation as commenced by the authorities was different from elsewhere. It was Colonel J.R. Quseley, the Agent to the Governor General on the South-Western Frontier, who took up the matter first. He issued a notice to the Raja of Patna to send a list of the Khond Sardars of his estate, and make an inquiry, whether there was any Meriah preserved for the purpose of sacrifice. For more effective action the Sardars were to be warned to abstain from Meriah sacrifice and deliver the Meriahs already in their possession. If they did not respond, their Zamindaries were liable for confiscation and the person sacrificing would be subjected to capital punishment. Such notices were also sent to the Rajas of neighbouring States like Sonepur, Khurriar, Bendra, Bamra and Nayagarh.[298]

It was in 1850 that Captain MacViccar proceeded to Patna from Maji Deso and commenced the real operation in the areas subordinate to the Tat Raja, Lal Jugroy Singh, of Jorasinghy. To start with, the list of all Khond Chiefs, their villages and houses etc., were prepared so as to facilitate detection in the event of the reoccurrence of the rite. Captain MacViccar was hopeful of achieving the desired results.[299]

Meanwhile MacViccar and his party during their stay opened a hospital in that area and healed hundreds of people by giving them free medicine. They also paid adequate attention to the wants of all the Khonds. All these deeds left a deep impression upon their minds. Thereafter the Khond Chiefs delivered the Meriahs. At one time thirty-three Meriahs were delivered. Then in another lot fifty six Meriahs were delivered, out of whom seven were redelivered for adoption.[300] When Campbell visited Patna in 1853, he heard that the Meriah rite was not even within the memory

297. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 181-182.
298. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 77, Quseley's Report, January 9, 1844.
299. SRG (India), No V, p. 177, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.
300. Ibid, pp. 117-118, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.

of men. Hardly one or two victims throughout the whole Zemindary were known to have been sacrificed once in five or six years.[301]

Kalahandi

The operation in the State of Kalahandi virtually commenced from 1850 when Captain MacViccar visited it. Futtah Narain Deo was its ruler then. He first went to Medanpur, comprising of the three districts of Mohangiri, Urladoney and Tapparungah. It was a tributary to Kalahandi and Kusung Singh was its nominal ruler, the Tat Raja. However, from these regions Captain MacViccar recovered a large number of victims.[302]

In 1853, John Campbell came to Kalahandi. Sending his Assistant MacNeill to Bundasir, he himself turned west towards Tooamal. To his great satisfaction MacNeill found the Khonds in Bundasir most submissive and tractable. Of course earlier the Raja of Kalahandi had forbidden the Meriah practice. He had also punished them severely twice, once for actually sacrificing, and another time for attempting to sacrifice. However because of his efforts, the Khonds resolved to give up the practice. When Campbell sent an officer to them, he found them strictly adhering to their resolution,[303]

However in Tooamal Campbell ascertained beyond doubt that the Khonds had not preserved Meriahs. But when they wished to perform a sacrifice, they applied to the Tat Raja, who sold them some persons accused of sorcery. He demanded sums varying from twenty to fifty rupees. Because of such a situation Campbell held frequent consultations with the Khond Chiefs who in the presence of their people signed the pledge to forsake the Meriah rite for ever. They also revealed that no such sacrifice had taken place since the removal of their Tat Raja. Further, at Karlapat, a tributary to Kalahandi

301. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 229-230.
302. Ibid. p. 185.
303. SRG (India), No. V, p. 132, Campbell's Report, February 9, 1854.

located on the same mountain range as Tooamal, the Khonds made similar commitments relating to the abandonment of this practice.[304]

Thus it is to be observed that Raja Futtah Narain Deo of Kalahandi was the chief pioneer in abolishing the Meriah practice in his State.

Inspite of the resolution of the Khonds, a Meriah was secretly sacrificed in 1853 in the village Pidili of Borikiya Mutha in Kalahandi estate. The abettor, Rendo Maji, the head of the mutha, was arrested with his son, Palaso Maji. They were imprisoned for two years at Kusselkonda as this step might have a deterrent effect on others. In 1857 when the Agent visited the same mutha he discovered the ill feeling existing among the Khond Chiefs. Even the Khonds of Borikiya and other muthas did not pay the usual visit (Bet) to the Agent.[305]

Gradually the situation improved. During the Meriah season of 1860, ten Meriahs were rescued.[306] Similarly in 1861 at Tooamal, a Meriah woman along with three of her children was rescued by Lieutenant MacNeill.[307]

Meanwhile in 1862, MacNeill went to Kalahandi and toured over a few muthas such as Tooamal, Bundasir, Lunjagiri and Bhurti. The Khond tracts of Madanpur and Mohangiri were also visited. The Khonds of Madanpur, Borikiya and Korikhia were most lawless and untrust worthy. So there he followed a cautious policy. He recommended more and more personal visits by British Officers.[308] In fact such frequent visits helped in the relinquishment of the practice.

It was in 1882 that a rising of the Khonds broke out in Kalahandi. This was, however, the result of agrarian grievan-

304. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 244-245.
305. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2784G), Madras Government, March 20, 1866, Inspector General of Madras Police, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, January 24, 1866.
306. Meriah Reports, p. 79, MacNeill's Report August 22, 1860.
307. Ibid, p. 83, MacNeill's Report, May 25, 1861.
308. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1372G), A.C. MacNeill, Agent to Governor General in Hill Tracts of Orissa, to C L.R. Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner, Godavari Division, February 25, 1862.

ces. But human sacrifice was somehow connected with the rising. The suppressed rites were revived then. The victims were murdered solemnly. About one hundred Kultas* were reported to have been murdered in this way. One day the widow of Kulta painfully expressed before the inquiring officer Frederick Berry, the Commissioner and Superintendent of the State, that her husband had been killed at the shrine of a village.[309]

However it was with the effort of Frederick Berry that the rising was successfully suppressed.**[310] Thereafter Meriah sacrifice was not heard of in Kalahandi.

Jeypore

The operation in Jeypore can be traced back to 1837 when it commenced to Ghumsar. That was because Arbuthnot, the Acting Collector of Vizagapatam in whom was vested the administration of Jeypore, reported that year about the prevalence of the revolting practice in the most inaccessible parts of the whole range of the hills. In making such a report he also suggested that the Zamindars should use their influence within their own territories to prevent the practice. He further suggested the need for the construction of roads.[311] Thereafter Lieutenant Hill of the Survey Department in his report of July 2, 1838 informed the Madras Government about the existence of Meriah sacrifice in Jeypore.[312] After four years Captain Macpherson in his elaborate report of April 24, 1842 informed the Madras Government that 'Human sacrifices were performed according to universal belief in Jeypore'.[313]

However it was after the information of the Meriah Agency that the matter was taken up in right earnest. It was on November 18, 1851 that Campbell ascended the Ghats and

* Kulta is a caste in Kalahandi District of Orissa.

309. Andrew H L. Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots*, p. 141.

** Khond rising of 1882 has been discussed in detail in Chapter-7.

310. Andrew H L Fraser, op. cit , p. 142.

311. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, pp. 10-11, Arbuthnot's Report, November 24. 1837.

312. Ibid , pp. 11-12, Hill's Report, July 2, 1838.

passing through the heart of the Ghumsar and Chinna Kimedy Malias reached Bissum Katak of Jeypore. There, the Raja Narendra Deo, half-heartedly responded to Campbell's mission.[314]

Meanwhile, Campbell learned to his great satisfaction from various sources that with the exception of two small muthas, namely Ambodala and Kankabody, Meriah sacrifice had ceased for more than two generations past though some of the villagers used to procure the flesh of the Meriahs from the neighbouring mutha of Ryabejee.[315] However in these two muthas four Meriahs were detected by Campbell who believed that the people were not completely free from performing such sacrifice there.[316] Raja Narendra Deo also delivered to Campbell a youth destined to be sacrificed before Goddess 'Manikeswari'.[317]

Then Campbell on December 17, 1851 left Bissum Katak and proceeding towards the east he rescued sixty nine Meriahs from Ryabejee. Then he proceeded to Gudari.[318] There he first came in contact with the Sourahs who did not sacrifice human beings, but some of them were reported to have procured flesh from the places of sacrifice and buried it in their fields.[319] But there were the Khonds who resorted to this practice. It was after some little evasion and procrastination that they delivered up their Meriahs, numbering forty-six. They also readily entered into the usual agreement to abandon the rite of Meriah sacrifice for ever.[320]

From Gudari, Campbell proceeded in the north-east direction to Lumbragaum of the Malo Mutha. He learnt there

313 Ibid, p. 12, Macpherson's Report, April 24, 1842.
314. Campbell's Narrative, p 194.
315. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 22.2/A KOR), Madras Government, A Memorandum
316. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, pp. 13-14. Campbell's Report, October 10, 1851.
317. R.C.S. Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers*, *Koraput*, p. 159.
318. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No LXXXI, p 14, Campbell's Report, October 10, 1851.
319. Meriah Report, p. 42, Campbell's Report, April 10, 1852
320. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 14, Campbell's Report, October 10, 1851.

that Lumbragaum was composed of a cluster of six villages which were generally at feud with each other. But at the arrival of Campbell they stood united to repel his suggestion regearding the abandonment of the practice. Campbellcould not detect underhand influence at work inspite of his endeavours for several days. Meanwhile Campbell threatened them through demonstration by a small force at his disposal. But under the spell of liquor, about three hundred of them attacked his camp. Campbell thus narrated that after "shouting and yelling more like demons than men, supported by uttering cries of encouragement from the rocks and jungle which surrounded the camp, a steady and resolute advance soon drove them off; a few shots over their heads, which had completed the rout.[321] Campbell and his men pursued them rapidly over the mountains till they were lost in the jungle dells on the other side. This action worked well. Next day delegates from different villages came, made their submission by delivering thirty-three Meriahs and entered into the usual agreement to abandon the sacrifice entirely. In turn, Brino Maji, the chief of Lumbragaum was given Saree,* or turban, for his service.[322]

From Lumbragaum, Campbell proceeded in a southerly direction and reached Sirdarpore. Here the people used to procure the flesh of Meriahs from Ryabejee and Chunderpore. Besides procuring flesh, when they considered a sacrifice necessary, they used to unite and purchase a victim for the occasion. But at Campbell's arrival they agreed to abandon the rite for ever.[323]

It was on February 6, 1852 that Campbell returned to Gudari. Marching for four days through Seirgooda. Bijipore and Kiloondi he reached Chunderpore which was then one of the strongholds of the sanguinary superstition second to

321 Ibid.

* Saree—a cloth which is usually used [by women, but it is also used as turban by the Khond Chiefs.

322. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, pp. 14-15, Campbell's Report, October 10, 1851.

323. Ibid, p. 15.

Ryabejee. The Khonds here came to him, readily and delivered up their Meriahs.[324]

But Campbell was sorry to note that the people of Bundare, one of the principal Khond villages, refused to come to him, or send him their Merihas. When Campbell went to them they fled with everything to concealed fastnesses in the mountains which he failed to discover. While trying to discover the cause of their fight, he saw a post to which a victim had been fastened by the hair, his head being suspended still, and the sacrificial knife attached to it.[325] It was certain that they had left the place on hearing of the arrival of Campbell and his party. However this scene infuriated Campbell and his party so much that they decided not to leave the place without doing something concrete. They burnt down the village of Bundare along with eight Meriah posts. They rescued in that season one hundred and fifty-eight Meriahs besides registering sixteen Possiahs and restoring them to their owners.[326] Among them there were more women and children than men. That was because the practice of rearing women Meriahs for the purpose of prostitution was more general in Jeypore than in other parts of the Khond country.[327]

However the matter did not end there. In November 1852, Campbell ascended the Ghats again and came to Bundare. The time the people received him and met him with all cordiality. They brought with them their Merihas, and threw themselves at the mercy of the Government.[328]

From the Bundare Campbell proceeded further and passed through the muthas of Chunderpore, Ryabejee and Gudari. At Ryabejee he rescued three Juna youths from an Oriya Patro. From Gudari Campbell proceeded to Bissum Katak where he found that the Khonds had remained true to their

324. Campbell's Narrative, p. 209.

325. Ibid. p. 210.

326. Ibid, pp. 212-213.

327 Bd Procd. Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2214/A KOR) Madras Government, J Campbell, Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa to Secretary to Government of India, April 10, 1852, No. 101.

328. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 17. Campbell's Report, Aprial 13, 1853.

pledge.[329] After completing the tour Campbell in his report of February 9, 1854, metioned that since March 1852 there had been no attempt at offering human sacrifice in Jeypore. The total number of Meriahs he rescued in Jeypore during 1851-52, and 1852-53 were 77 males and 115 females, besides 14 male and 8 female Possiahs.[330]

The operation in Jeypore did not close then.

It was in 1855 that Captain MacNeill visited Jeypore hills and recorded no sacrifice But in the village Assergoody one Khond Chief Kisky was reported to have stolen a lad for the purpose, but the rite was yet to be performed. MacNeill then rescued the victim and restored him to his parents in Bissum Katak from where he had been stolen.[331]

Malkangiri Taluk, 'a hot-bed of Meriah sacrifices' still remained unattended to. Four victims were believed to have been annually offered there at the four gates of the fort, presumably on the orders of Ranee Bangara Devi, who was then the defacto ruler of the taluk. In May 1854 this lady was known to have sacrificed a girl of ten in fulfilment of a vow, on her recovery from illness.[332] In 1855 the Meriah Agent also received information that four children used to be annually sacrificed at the doors of the Malkangiri fort, besides other triennial sacrifices in the outlying districts.[333]

After obtaining all this information Captain MacNeill visited Malkangiri in 1855. There he rescued four children who were about to be sacrificed. Here one hundred Toorees were delivered. Then they were duly registered.[334] But it was after the departure of MacNeill that two human sacrifices occurred in Malkangiri. That year two other sacrifices took place in the taluk of Odrogoro and Ramgiri.[335] The victims

329. Ibid, pp. 17-18.
330. Ibid, p. 19, Campbell's Report, February 9, 1854.
331. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p 20, MacNeil's Report May 21, 1855.
332. R.C S. Bell, op cit., p. 174.
333. Vizagapatam Manual, p. 16.
334. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 22, MacNeill's Report, May 21, 1855.
335. Meriah Reports, pp. 64-65, MacNeill's Report June 12, 1856.

happened to be women. Of course they were accused of sorcery and thrown into a pool after a s one was tied round their necks. All this Captain MacNeill came to know when he visited these areas in 1856.[336]

Meanwhile MacNeill deputed the Assistant Munshi to learn further about the Khond tracts of Jeypore. On his return he reported that he was visited by the Khond Chiefs of 126 villages of Gudari and Ryabejee Muthas who vehemently asserted that Meriah sacrifice was no longer prevalent in their areas.[337]

In 1861, MacNeill visited Jeypore after receiving the news of a human sacrifice. This sacrifice was of a different nature. He learnt that Dasahara was the most important festival of the year performed in honour of the Goddess Kanak Durga enshrined in a temple within the palace walls. The festival continued for as along as sixteen days.[338] The other names of this Goddess were Kali and Thakurani. It was during the Dasahara festival of 1861 that Cholera broke out in Jeypore town itself. Then a girl of twelve was sacrificed at the shrine of Kali to check the epidemic.[339] But Captain MacNeill failed to obtain any evidence from the Raja or his people about this human sacrifice.[340]

However, Lieutenant Craudford, the Assistant to Captain MacNeill discovered a human sacrifice being performed at Nandpur* before the Deity Bhoirobo on the occasion of the succession of the Raja of Jeypore to the throne. This sacrifice was performed at Nandpur because traditionally it was the birth place of the first Raja of Jeypore.[341]

Towards the last part of the year 1861, Captain MacNeill

336. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 24, MacNeill's Report, June 12, 1856.

337. Meriah Reports, p. 70, MacNeill's Report, May 27, 1858.

338. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 167.

339. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 32.

340. OHCP, XV Session, 1989, p. 133, N.R. Patnaik's 'Suppression of Human sacrifice in Jeypore'.

* Nandpur of Pottangi Taluk was the old capital of the Jaypore estate.

341. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 34.

visited Bissum Katak of Jeypore where he rescued nine Meriahs, hitherto kept concealed. All those being principally women with large families, they were unwilling to leave the Khond country. But finally they were released on the security of the Tat Raja.[342].

However, MacNeill during his visit rescued seventeen new Meriahs from Jeypore. They were then restored to their owners after being registered. Then he revisited the Ryabejee Mutha where he posted a guard of Sebundies to check the practice if any.[343]

After the abolition of the Meriah Agency in 1861 MacNeill emphasised the importance of adopting preventive measures by strict supervision in Jeypore.[344] At his instance Captain Marshall circulated a proclamation to the effect that although there would be no objection to sacrificing buffaloes, parties intending to perform such a sacrifice ought still to give due notice to the nearest Police out-post so that someone might be present on behalf of the Government to witness what really took place.[345]

Furthermore, W. Robinson, Inspector General of Police, recommended to the Government in 1862, that some more action be taken in Jeypore. He wanted an increase of the Armed Reserve of 37 men, who would be posted to observe Meriah-sacrificing tribes in Jeypore. Accordingly an Additional Assistant Superintendent of Police was appointed for Jeypore in 1863.[34] And Captain Gelbraith held this post. For further tightening up of security, in May 1865, Jeypore was made a separate police district comprising all parts of the estate lying above the Ghats. The remaining portion, corresponding to the present Rayagada sub-division continued

342. Meriah Reports, p. 84, MacNeill's Report, (date not mentioned).
343. Meriah Reports, p. 82, MacNeill's Report, May 25, 1861.
344. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, pp. 38-39, Captain A.C. MacNeill, to Captain C L.R. Glasfurd, Deputy Commissioner, Godavari District, February 25, 1862.
345. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1453G), G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to A J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, February 17, 1863.
346. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 53.

to stay under the Vizagapatam police district.[347] At the same time the construction of roads in Jeypore estate was undertaken in 1863. Jeypore-Anantagiri road was the first to be constructed.[348]

Meanwhile D.F. Carmichael, the Acting Agent to the Goveenor, Vizagapatam, visited the Khond areas of Jeypore in 1863 to see to the observance of the practice of Meriah by the Khonds. He called the Khonds and heard from them that not a single human being had been sacrificed in the ten previous years in Jeypore. In intense satisfaction he distributed to them a little cloth, tobacco, some strings of beads, and a few rupees and dismissed them to their villages.[349]

Thus Meriah sacrifice was completely abandoned in Jeypore and the last Meriah is said to have been recorded in 1861.

POST OPERATION MEASURES

Settlement of Meriahs

After the suppression of Meriah sacrifice the British Government became keen for the settlement of the rescued Meriahs. Dr. Buckey in his 'Story of Half a Century' has mentioned their numbers to be as high as 1700.[350]* But the number might be even greater. Hence the rehabilitation of the Meriahs posed a great problem indeed.

However some effective measures were adopted.** To start with, the rescued Meriah children were put in the Mission Schools. John Campbell placed about two hundred of the Meriahs in such schools located in the plains. He had in view that the most intelligent of them might be brought up as

347. R.C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 150.
336. Ibid, p. 125.
349. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 61, Carmichael's Tour Report, to A J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, March 31, 1863.
350. See S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 20.

* See the statement of total number of Meriahs rescued from 1837 to 1854 in Appendix-I.

** See the statement of the settlement of Meriahs rescued between 1837 and 1853 in Appendix-J.

teachers who would eventually settle in their native hills, and by their precept and example might win some of their wild people away from superstitious beliefs. Of course the spread of Christian religion among the Khonds was another consideration.[351] At the same time, he also wanted that the Khonds should not be allowed to forget the Khond dialect, Primers of which had so laboriously been prepared by Captain Frye. However, the Government of India in this regard made a liberal provision for all the Meriahs, young or old. At their instance some of the children were confided to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Stubbins, and Mr. and Mrs. Wilkinson who headed some schools at Berhampore, in Ganjam. Some others were sent to the care of Mr. and Mrs. Buckley who had started a school at Cuttack. Mr. Bachelore, an American Missionary at Balasore, also took care of some children.[352]

In all such schools the rescued Meriahs were taught all sorts of occupations and crafts such as weaving, tailoring, housewifery, gardening, painting, book binding and the like. Many were sent to the Mission farm near Cuttack where they learned to clear the jungle and till the soil.[353] The Meriahs, thus trained in various occupations, were appointed as teachers or husbandmen, according to their own liking. But the majority of them decided to cultivate the land. So the Government granted them uncleared forests. Irrigation facilities were also provided. They were also provided with ploughing bullocks, ploughs and plough-shares, seed grains and other agricultural implements. Huts were built for their own residence, as well as sheds for their cattle. Apart from such grants financial aid was given to them.[354] Mention may be made of seventeen Meriahs of villages Pendurakhollo, Nuapalli, Mahasingi, Ballighari, Upparabhago and Soropada who received in 1870 daily allowances in kind such as rice and monthly allowances in cash from the Government. On this account the Government was known to have incurred an

351. CCO, Vol. VIII, No. 85, June 1839, p. 352.
352. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 262-263.
353. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
354. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA LR Acsn 1428G/1), Madras Government, October 31, 1870.

expenditure to the tune of three hundred fifty five rupees, two annas and four pie per annum. The Government also provided them with land and assisted them with sufficient money to settle themselves as ryots for an independent livelihood. Even a tank was dug for them[355] Similarly 53 acres of land in Nimmabhadrapully, a village in the Ghumsar Taluk was granted to the Meriahs for cultivation.[356]

Furthermore, in such schools when the boys and girls attained marriageable age, their partners were selected from different schools and their unions solemnised.[357]

Mere placement of rescued children in the schools was not the end of the efforts of the British officers. They went round the schools to see the effectiveness of the programme. It was in 1850 and 1851 that Campbell personally visited the schools established in the Ghumsar Khond country. There he found that the education for the boys was inadequate and that the teachers were not properly qualified. Of the seven children put in 1837, only one could read and write with any degree of accuracy, and the remaining six, all of the Pana caste, were incapable of reading anything beyond the rudiments of the 'spelling book'. So Campbell suggested that the Meriah children be transferred to the care of the Missionaries at Berhampore, Cuttack and Balosore for their education.[358]

Similarly, Lieutenant R.M. MacDonald, the Assistant Agent of Ganjam, inspected the schools in Ghumsar and Chinna Kimedy and found such institutions in a most deplorable condition. The attendance of the children was unsatisfactory. In certain places there was even no school house at all. On inquiry about the thin attendance he learnt that the natives were apathetic to learning itself. A most absurd idea worked in them that reading would take away their eyes from the sockets. But there was one very valid reason behind

355. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA LR Acsn 1428G/1), Madras Government, Acting Collector of Ganjam, to Acting Secretary of Board of Revenue, August 4, 1870.
356. Bd. Procd, Rev, (OSA LR Acsn 1428G/1), Madras Government, October 31, 1870.
357. Campbell's Narrative, p. 283.
358. Meriah Reports. p. 45, Campbell's Report, March 22, 1852.

their apathy to schooling. If their children were engaged in study, they thought, they would no more assist their parents as they had been doing in field labour and in fetching wood and water. Even MacDonald could not succeed in getting a single pupil for the experimental school which he had proposed to establish at Russelkonda and which had been sanctioned by the Government in the Minutes of the Consultation, No. 194 of May 16, 1854.[359]

However there were a few other schools which worked for the benefit of the rescued Meriahs. One such school was in the village Upparabhago in the low country. In 1861 there was an attendance of 45 children—out of whom some were rescued Meriahs and some their children.[360]

Furthermore, the rescued Meriahs were given a chance to serve as peons and bearers. With the Government's support an effort was made to establish a colony of the rescued Meriahs at Russelkonda which, however, did not succeed. Similarly the liberated women were made to wed the Khond Chiefs and others. And as the marriages were performed with Government favour, there was no demand for bride-prices, because of which those women were soon in great demand.[361]

In fine if the British Government suppressed the Meriah sacrifice, they adopted adequate measures for the settlement of the rescued Meriahs.

Thus it is to be observed that most of the work of the suppression was done during the eighteen-fifties. In this connection, 'The Friend of India' wrote in 1854, "The sum up, in 18 years a crime worse than any known in Europe has been eradicated-twelve hundred and sixty human beings have been preserved from a horrible death—an entire people has been induced to forego a crime sanctioned alike by antiquity and by superstition".[362]

359. Meriah Reports, pp. 52-54, R.M. MacDonald, Assistant Agent in Ganjam, to Acting Agent to Govenor in Ganjam, January 1, 1855.
360. Ibid, p 83, A.C. MacNeill, Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, to Secretary to Government of India, May 25, 1861.
361. S. Pearce Carey, op cit., p. 26.
362. The Friend of India, September 28, 1854.

Then the British Government thought of abolishing the Meriah Agency. After thorough discussions the Government in 1859 decided to abolish it. But it was postponed at that time on account of the unsettled state of the districts of Parlakhemundi and the excited condition of the Khonds. The Agency was finally abolished in 1861.[363]

Subsequently in a Resolution of December 18, 1861, the Governor-General-in-Council recorded its opinion stating that "the necessary steps be taken for carrying the abolition into effect, the duties hitherto performed by the Agent being transferred to the several authorities within whose jurisdiction respectively the several portions of the hill tracts were situated."[364]

While abolishing the Agency the Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, desired that the effects of the abolition of the Special Agency for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifices and other crimes be carefully watched and every precaution be adopted to see that the Khonds, being released from the vigilant supervision of officers specially selected for the duty, would not relapse into their former habits, and the advantage that the Government had gained at a large sacrifice of life and money be not lost.[365]

Earlier also the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, in this context, giving a note of caution, expressed his thoughts thus on February 28, 1856, "Although various tribes have one by one consented to abandon the rite, it does not appear over sanguine to anticipate that Meriah sacrifice may be considered to be at an end".[366]

Keeping all these facts in view a few more measures were adopted for preventing further occurrence of the practice in

363 Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1836G), Madras Government, C. Beadon, Secretary to Government of India, to Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, April 5, 1859.

364. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 42.

365. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Ascn 1332G/2), Madras Government, Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, to Governor General of India, April 8, 1862.

366. Quoted in The Calcutta Review, Vol. LLXXVI, Jan-March 1853, p. 32.

future. Although the Khonds were allowed to sacrifice buffaloes in place of human victims, they were prohibited from using liquor in this ceremony. That was because coming under the influence of intoxicating drinks, the Khonds might secretly sacrifice human beings after the immolation of buffaloes. Even Lieutenant MacNeill had opined that it would be prudent to prohibit the sacrifice of buffaloes and the exhibition of certain emblems formerly used when Meriah sacrifices were performed.[367] At the same time punishment was taken recourse to for preventing the recurrence of the practice in future. It was suggested that in such cases examplary punishments like fines, imprisonment and even death sentences be awarded. And this suggestion was carried out, too. At Parvatipur in 1866 two men were sentenced to death for carrying out what was to all intents and purposes a human sacrifice. Even the Senior Assistant Magistrate recommended to the Magistrate of the district to carry out the death sentenced at Parvatipur itself so that it would have a beneficial effect on the people of the adjacent hill tracts. But the Governor-in-Council, in its Order 879 of May 29, 1868, directed the Magistrates not to execute the persons at the place of the Crime.[368]

Thus, reviewing the entire history of the operation, it is to be observed that by 1861 the practice was known to have been abandoned. In this context, T.E. Ravenshaw, the Superintendent of Cuttack Tributary Estates, recorded his impression thus, "Human sacrifice, I believe, is completely forgotten. The people have no objection to talk about it and point out the spots where the rite was performed, but they speak of their former superstitions on the subject as a delusion. They thought, they say, that human blood improved the quality of turmeric, their most profitable crop; but they now find that the earth yields its increase as before and the turmeric is as

367. Meriah Reports, pp. 80-81, A.C. MacNeill, Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, to Secretary to Government of India, August 22, 1860.

368. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Ascn 1511G), Madras Government, May 29, 1868.

'good as ever it was".[369]

Similarly the Inspector General of Madras Police, giving a graphic description of the non-existence of Meriah-sacrifice, wrote to the Chief Secretary to Government on January 24, 1866, "There is now no kidnapping of victims from the plains. There are no open sacrifices in the hills. But there may be occasions of secret relapse in the secluded villages of distant parts not yet permanently occupied,"[370] In fact a few such practices were known to have taken place. During the Rampa rebellion of 1879 89 several cases of human sacrifice occurred in the disturbed tracts. In 1880 two persons were convicted of attempting a Meriah sacrifice near Ambodala in Bissum Katak. In 1883, a man believed to be a beggar and a stranger was found murdered in one of the temples in Jeypore. He was believed to have been slain as Meriah.[371] It was also as late as in 1883 that the hill Police of Jeypore discovered that a youth had been sacrificed in the previous year. One Edward Evans who had worked in the last quarter of the 19th century could detect four such cases during his times.[372] And as late as in 1886, a formal inquiry showed that there were ample grounds for the suspicion that the kidnapping of victims was going on still in Bastar.[373]

H.B. Rowney wrote in 1882, "It cannot yet be said truly that they have got reconciled to the change" [374] The belief in the old rite continued even into the 20th century. The ethnological section of the Madras Museum has preserved a very intereresting relic in the shape of a Meriah sacrifice post from Baliguda in Ganjam. It was brought by Colonel Pickance, who was Assistant Superintendent of Police, and set up in the ground near the gate of reserve Police barracks. The veteran members of a party of Khonds, who were brought to

369. Quoted in E.T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, pp. 292-293.
370. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2784G), Madras Government, March 20, 1866.
371. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*. Vol. III, p. 379.
372. S. Pearce Carce, op cit., p. 20.
373. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 379.
374 H.B. Rowney, op. cit p. 104.

Madras for the purpose of performing before the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1906, become wildly excited when they came across this relic of their former barbarous custom.[375] It was in 1907 that the Khonds of Ganjam petitioned the District Officer to allow them the resumption of Meriah sacrifice as emergency measure on account of drought and scarcity.[376]

By studying the Khond song translated by J.E. Friend-Fereira,* one can conclude that the memory of the abandoned practice remained green among the Khonds for a long time.[377]

Even while performing buffalo sacrifice in place of human victims the Khonds used to apologise to the deity for not being able to offer a human victim in view of the prohibition imposed by 'Kyamal Makmel Sahib' refetring to Campbell and Macpherson. A few Khonds still regard the buffalo sacrifice as a less effective substitute for the Meriah sacrifice for propitiating their deities.[378]

Verrier Elwin who had gone round the Khond dominated areas reported thus, "Even in 1944 the desire for Human sacrifice was fundamental to Khond psychology. In almost every village, hidden away in a priest's house, were the old implements of sacrifice-the knife, the chains, the bowl to catch the blood-and the priests told me how at certain seasons when the moon was full they could hear these horrid tools weeping for the human blood which was now denied them".[379]

Verrier Elwin further writes that the Khonds have still carefully treasured a few human skulls, perhaps a hundred years old, or bits of human bone, which used to be brought out at special ceremonies or used as amulets. A great hunter who had preserved a bit of the finger bone of a Meriah told

375. E Thurston op. cit. Vol. III, pp. 371-372.

376 L S.S.O 'Malley, *India's Social Heritage*, p. 94; E. Thurston, op. cit., p. 380.

* See the Song in Appendix-K.

377 E Thurston, op. cit., p. 380.

378 R.C S. Bell, op. cit., p. 67.

379. Verrier Elwin. *The Tribal World*, p. 178.

Elwin that he attributed all his luck in the chase to this possession.[380]

In one village, which Verrier Elwin visited in the company of H.V. Blackburn, where tigers were killing both men and cattle, the Khonds came and told them that if they allowed them to sacrifice a human child the tiger-nuisance would quickly disappear. "The earth cries out for blood", as a Khond told to Elwin.[381]

In fact, even as late as very recent times in some of the remote villages the buffalo was called by the old name of Meriah, the old human skulls of masks were still used when the animal was offered to the Earth Goddess.[382]

Thus it was by the successful policy of the British Government and the untiring work of the native officers and above all the unparallelled zeal of the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, that the Meriah sacrifice was completely wiped out. In fact their firmness without unnecessary resort to coercion, ensured such success.

Impact of the Suppression

The impact of the suppression of Meriah sacrifice was most conspicuous in the socio-cultural life of the Khonds. This was mostly because of the spread of education by the Meriah Agents and the Missionaries for civilising the Khonds. By opening hill schools and introducing the Khond dialects with the help of Captain Frye, a considerable progress in enlightening the Khonds was achieved.

The awareness for education brought about a state of mind which helped the khonds in coming out of their dreadful ignorance. Side by side gradually their mind was prepared to throw off some of the age-long superstitions. This was achieved partly by force and partly by means of education. However, a clear stagnation of socio-cultural progress was

380. Ibid.
381. Verrier Elwin, *A Brief Survey of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput*, p. 16.
382. Verrier Elwin, *Tribal Myths of Orissa*, pp. xlv-xlvi.

removed thereby.[383] Mention may be made of some deep-rooted superstitions, such as that the colour of turmeric would not be red without the pouring of human blood, that ran-fall would depend upon the amount of tears coming out of the eyes of the Meriahs, the placement of the human flesh in the land of making it more fertile.[384] All these superstitions were removed by the suppression of Meriah practice.[385] No longer did they believe that there was any relation between human sacrifice and nature's disasters. Rather they gave greater attention to make their lands more fertile by using fertilizers and under-taking irrigation.[386] Consequently agricultural production increased. And with this increase, the Khonds' way of living became better. Furthermore, with the progress in learning, a spectacular change in their sanitary life was noticed. They became more and more neat and clean. Their behaviour also became more orderly and polished.[387]

Again it was with the abolition of Meriah sacrifice that ceremonial expenses came down drastically although animals were substituted in place of human beings.[388] Thereby the economic prosperity of the Khonds increased. At the same time the converted Khonds received financial help from Missionary fvnds. Lands and employment were also provided by the Missionaries. Medical help was given to the sick and suffering. All those were found to have brought a distinct socio-economic change in the Khond community.

There was yet another distinct effect. Often different tribes of Khonds used to fight among themselves mostly on account of their economic distress and lack of enlightenment. When

383. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XIX, p. 265.
384 J G. Frazer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 503;
Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 62;
H B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 104.
385. E T Dalton, op. cit., pp. 292-293.
386. Bd. Procd. Rev (OSA LR Ascn 1428G/1), Madras Government, October 31, 1870.
387. OHCP, XIII Session, 1987, pp. 155-156, N.R. Patnaik's 'Impact of the Suppression of Meriah Sacrifice on the Khonds of 19th Century Orissa'.
388. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 20.

they become economically developed and more enlightened feuds between different Khond tribes seldom occurred.[389]

Furthermore, it was to facilitate the operations for the suppression of Meriah that a good number of roads were opened to the inaccessible hill tracts. Thereby the Khonds could come in contact with the people of the plains who were more civilized and enlightened.[390] This contact helped in cultural assimilation. In this context John Campbell thus writes, "The moral effect on the Khonds of well frequented roads passing through their country was great."[391] At the same time these roads helped in the increase of their economic prosperity when goods produced by them could be exchanged with those produced in the plains through the vendors who could go inside the inaccessible hill areas much easily after the opening of the communication facilities.

The suppression of Meriah sacrifice brought in its train an increase of indigenous industry. That was because as reported by A C. MacNeill, the Meriah Agent, "The rescued Meriahs who have been from time to time established as ryots in various parts of Lower Ghoomsur, have now gained habits of industry".[392]

Besides industry, the Meriahs were trained as teachers, artificers, or husbandmen. Thus interests other than cultivation and hunting were created in the minds of Khonds.[393] Even those who wanted to take to farming were given land by the Government. Irrigation facilities were also provided. Thus Meriah started to lead a happy and comfortable life. This was admitted by the Khonds themselves in one of their popular songs which has been translated by J.E. Friend-Pereira.[394] Highlighting the overall effects A.C. MacNeill

389. OHCP, XIII, Session, 1987, p. 156, N.R. Patnaik's 'Impact of the Suppression of Meriah Sacrifice on the Khonds of 19th Century Orissa'.
390. Campbell's Narrative, p. 77;
Bd Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 134), Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847
391. Campbell's Narrative, p. 134.
392. Meriah Report, p. 76, A C. MacNeill, Agent in Hill Tracts of Orissa, to Secretary to Government of India, May 14, 1859.
393. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., pp. 26-27.
394 E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 380.

reported further, "The villages are in a flourishing condition and the few Meriahs who are now receiving monthly batta from the 1st July be independent of Government support" [395] Examining the impact of the Meriah operation as a whole, the Court of Directors in the Despatch of June 14, 1854 mentioned, "It is obvious that the germs of ultimate civilization have been planted in the country, and we may entertain in confident hope that the advance of the population towards a higher social condition will be in an accelerated ratio of progress".[396]

Reviewing the general condition of the Khonds on the occasion of the fifty years' celebration after the discovery of Meriah in Khond tracts, the Agent of the Government in Ganjam reported in 1837, "The Jubilee has a double significance in Khondistan, as it was in the year 1887 or the year of Her Majesty's Accession that Captain Campbell first came up above the Ghats for the purpose of suppressing the 'Meriah' or Human sacrifice, though it was not till some years later that a regular Agency was established for that purpose. The fifty years have perhaps made a greater change in the Maliahs than in any other portion of Her Majesty's Dominions. At the beginning of the period the whole tract of the country was almost unknown to Europeans, and Meriah or Female sacrifice prevailed. Now the country had been opened up by numerous roads while carts can come up as far as Balliguda itself. Schools have been started and Police Stations established throughout its length and breadth. In addition to this there are a special Agent and three magistrates and District Munsiffs in the hill tracts for the administration of criminal and civil justice."[397]

Furthermore, the Khonds after the suppression of Meriah enjoyed more freedom. That was because, "In consideration

395. Meriah Reports, p. 76, A.C. MacNeill, Agent in Hill Tracts of Orissa, to Secretary to Government of India, May 14, 1859.
396. Quoted in The Calcutta Review, Vol. 115, 1902, p. 67.
397. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1242G), Madras Government, Agent to Government in Ganjam, to Chief Secretary to Government, Judicial Department, Ootacamund, July 12, 1887.

of their abandonment of the Meriah Sacrifices", writes Verrier Elwin in his 'Notes on a Kondh Tour', "the Khonds received sanads giving them the freedom of the country, permitting them to practice their axe-cultivation and excusing them from the payment of all taxes. This whole area, therefore, is usually free".[398]

Thus because of this humanitarian work the seeds of an ultimate civilization were planted in the Khond tracts. Consequently the population advanced towards a higher socio-economic condition at an accelerated pace of progress.

398. Man in India, Vol. XXIV, 1944, No. 1, p. 40, Verrier Elwin's 'Note on a Kondh Tour'.

6

Infanticide and Its Suppression

Infanticide was another gruesome social practice prevalent among one section of the Khond tribes of India, some of whom killed their new-born infants. Like Meriah this horrid practice was also suppressed in the later half of the 19th century at the benign intervention of the British.

Infanticide was not a new crime in the 'multitudinous catalogue of human guilt',[1] nor was it peculiar to the Khond tribes. It had prevailed amongst many tribes and nations of the world. Of course it depended on various circumstances, and the nature and habits of the people.[2] Similarly in certain other parts of India, for example among the people of Rajputana and the Naga tribes of Assam, female infanticide was also prevalent.[3] So, it was not very strange that infanticide existed among the Khonds 'who were wild and barbarous in their ancestral traditions'.[4]

As in the case of Meriah, the British were the first to discover the practice of infanticide among the Khonds. George Edward Russell of the Madras Civil Service was the

1 Kanti B. Pakrasi, *Female Infanticide in India* (Calcutta, 1970), p. 22.

2. John Wilson, *History of the Suppression of Infanticide Western India* (Bombay, 1855), p. 17;
Lalita Panigrahi, *British Social Policy and Female Infanticide in India* (New Delhi, 1972), p. 1.

3. H.H Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p.LXVI.

4. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 139-140.

first person who did so. He discovered it in 1836 and made a report that female infanticide was common among the tribes living in the regions west of Surada.[5]

It was usual to kill female infants. But there were also instances of killing the male offspring. However, in Ganjam district of Orissa only female infants used to be killed to an extensive tract of about 2400 square miles comprising the Zamindaries of Surada, Korada, Bodoghoro and Chinna Kimedy.[6*] In a population of 60,000 in this tract female infants, destroyed annually varied from 1200 to 1500 in number as is known from the report of Macpherson.[7] However, the life of the female child was generally spared if she happened to be the first child.[8] But in Chinna Kimedy and in a few more taluks such as Pootydeso, Sorrobissi, Korkahputtah, Jhoomkah, and Rayagada of Koraput district of Orissa, both male and female infanticide was known to have prevailed.[9] However in all those infanticidal tracts human sacrifices were unknown.[10]

Origin of Infanticide

The origin of infanticide can be traced in the legends of the Khonds. Such legends were as follows.

5. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol II, p 28, Reports on the Disturbances in Purla Kimedy, Vizagapatam and Goomsur, August 12, 1836.
6. SRG (India), No. V, p. 66, Macpherson's Report, July 10, 1844; SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 28, MacNeills Report, May 12, 1857;
   Lalita Panigrahi, op. cit., p. 1.
   * See the Infanticidal Tract shown in Appendix-'B'.
7. SRG (India), No. V, p 66 Macpherson's Report, July 10, 1844; H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p 107;
   S. Pearce Carey, *Dawn on the Kond Hills*, pp. 16-17;
   Angul Gazetteer, p. 28.
8. SRG (India), No. V, p. 46, Macpherson's Report, April 24, 1842.
9. SRG (Madras , Jeypore. No. LXXXI, p. 28, MacNeill's Report, May 12, 1857;
   H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 107.
10. Somerset Ployne, *Bengal and Assam, Bihar and Orissa, their History, People, Commerce and Industrial resources* (London, 1917), p. 52;
    Ganjam Manual, p. 63.

The Khonds of Jaudingibady, Greenobady and Sodrabandy revealed one such legend before Lieutenant Colonel Campbell. Long long ago there lived four brothers who were the sons of one Danka Mallika Of them three had eight sons each, while the fourth brother had none. He had two daughters only. However those two daughters, for some reasons, failed to find husbands, and against custom, cohabited with some of their cousins. Having learnt of this the three brothers as a punishment deprived the father of the daughters of the ancestral properties. Thereupon in shame the two sisters drowned themselves in a tank called Reda Bandha. After this unhappy event, the three brothers repented. Now reconciled with their younger brother, they took a decision to destroy their female issue thareafter and solemnised it in the name of their deities, Pebody and Bura Pennu. Since then the practice of female infanticide had been in vogue.[11]

There was yet another legend associated with the religious beliefs of the Khonds. They believed that while their supreme deity, the Sun god, had created all good things, his consort the Earth Goddess had introduced only evil into the world.[12] This the Earth Goddess did as she was jealous of the love of the Sun God for man.[13] However, since then this conflict had been going on constantly between the God and the Goddess. And in this conflict two different sections of the Khonds took sides with the deities. While the non-sacrificing infanticidal tribes made the Sun God their object of adoration neglecting the Earth Goddess, the sacrificing tribes propitiated the Earth Goddess by offering human sacrifices.[14] The infanticidal tribes further believed that the Sun God having repented for creating a female, told the men to bring up fewer females so that the evil caused to the society could be kept within bounds. He was believed to have said to men, "Behold ! from

11. Campbell's Narrative, pp 140-141;
    Angul Gazetteer, p. ˆ6.
12. R.G. Latham, *Ethnology of India*, p. 338.
13 Macpherson's Memorials, p. 135.
14. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 66, Macpherson's Report, July 10, 1844;
    R G. Latham, op. cit , p. 336.

the making of one feminine being how have I and the whole world suffered. You are at liberty to bring up only as many women as you can manage".[15] Hence the Khonds started the destruction of their female infants.

Captain Macpherson has given another reason for female infanticide. This was also associated with a queer religious belief of the Khonds. They believed that souls used to return to the families of their previous birth in the same human forms. And the soul entered the family on the seventh day after its birth when the naming ceremony of the child was being performed. If a female infant would be killed before this ceremony then she could be prevented from entering the family and as such the chance of female births in the family could be avoided in future. Moreover since every Khond wanted his first child to be a male, the destruction of their female infants was restored to.[16]

There was yet another superstitious belief in this respect. The number of souls assigned to a family by Bura Pennu had been limited.[17] Hence by the destruction of the female infants more male souls could be made available to them.[18]

Thus, speaking on the origin of female infanticide, E. Thurston has ascribed it to the belief of the Khonds that it was God's desire to keep women out of the world because they were the mischief-makers who made the world suffer.[19] E.T. Dalton opines that the practice originated from the belief that male births can be increased only by the destruction of female infants.[20]

But in certain places both male and female offspring were put to death. There worked another factor. As soon as a

15. Ganjam Manual, p. 63.
16 SRG (India), No. V, p. 66, Macpherson's Report, July 10, 1844; Census Report. Central Provinces, 1911, Vol. I, p. 160; R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol. III, p. 469.
17. Macpheron's Memorials, p. 134; R.G. Latham, op. cit., 338.
18. Macpherson's Memorials, pp. 134-135.
19. E Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 386.
20. E.T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, p. 289.

child was born to a family an astrologer called 'Jani' or 'Desauri' was to be summoned by the parents to ascertain the future prospects of the child. Generally they were Hindu Oriyas, but in places like Korkahputtah and Jhoomkah they were Khunds.[21] However, the Oriya astrologer coming with a palm leaf manuscript called a 'Punji'* and a 'Stylus' of bone on ivory performed certain ceremonies after which he studied the future of the baby with the help of such articles. If the signs thus capriciously studied represented good, then the child was allowed to live. But if the indication was somewhat evil then the child was considered to be a curse to the parents and even to the whole tribe, in which case he or she was to be murdered.[22] Referring to the Hindu custom in this context, Abbe J A. Dubois thus writes, "The innocent babes who happened to be born on a certain day which the prognostications of the professional astrologer have signified to be unlucky...there are even unnatural parents of this kind who go to the length of cruelly strangling or drowning these tiny victims of most stupid and at the same time most atrocious superstition."[23] Plausibly the Hindu custom in this regard had influenced the Khonds. The Hindu astrologers might have influenced the ignorant and superstitious Khonds.[24]

However, in reality, female infanticide had nothing to do with the religion of the Khonds[25] It may be ascribed, writes Macpherson, 'to the position of their women and the very conditions of their marriage ties'.[26] In fact, the position of women among the Khonds, particulary among the tribes who practised infanticide, was somewhat different from other tribes. The influence and privileges which they exercised in

21. Campbell's Narrative, p.149.
 * The Khonds did not use a 'Punji'.
22. SRG. (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, pp. 28-29, MacNeill's Report. May, 12, 1857.
23. Abbe, J.A, Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, p. 500.
24. Campbell's Narrative, p. 149.
25. Angul Gazetteer, p. 26.
26. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 132.

public and private affairs was comparatively greater.[27] Among them adult marriage was in practice and the women used to wed the men of their own choice after a regular process of courtship. As such premarital chastity was not insisted upon.[28] That apart, no Khond woman was available for marriage without the payment of bride-price called 'Gonti' and every Khond bridegroom was required to pay it to his bride's father in kind such as buffaloes, goats, brass-plates, cooking vessels and ornaments to the tune of fifty to seventy rupees in worth.[29] And often the bride-price was so high that it was chiefly subscribed by his near relatives and even at times by the tribe as a whole.[30] It was for this high amount that in 1869 the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals had to issue instructions to the Khonds for minimising this bride-price.[31] Further the Khond women were Polyandrous.[32] They were at liberty to dissolve their marriages at will and contract fresh marriages. If a married woman entered the house of an unmarried man, and established herself there, the man was obliged to marry her for the sake of her honour.[33] Of course there were certain circumstances for this change of husband on the part of a woman. If she was childless, she had the right to quit her husband at any time, not of course within one year of her marriage. In other cases, she was not permitted to quit her husband within one year of the birth of

27. J C. Browne, *Indtan Infanticide* (London, 1857), p 211; Macpherson's Memorials, p. 132.
28. Crawford (Ed) *Castes and Tribes employed in Tea Estates in N.E. India*, (Calcutta, 1924), p. 151.
29. J.C. Browne, op. cit,, pp, 211-212; The Calcutta Review, Vol. 115, 1902, p, 64; P.T. Nair, *Marriage and Dowry in India*, (Calcutta, 1978), p. 52; Angul Gazetteer, p. 26.
30. Macpherson's Memorials, p. 133; L.S S.O' Malley, *Indias Social Heritage*, p. 94.
31. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 3159G), Translation of an arji addressed to the Acting Junior Assistant by the Sub-Magistrate of Udayagiri, June 9, 1869.
32. R.G. Latham, op cit., p. 338.
33. L S.S O' Malley, *India's Social Heritage*, p. 93.

a child, or while she was in a state of pregnancy.[34] However in all such cases she had to return the bride price paid to her father after deducting the marriage expenses.[35] This right she could avail herself of as many as eight to ten times.[36] It was for this reason that a Khond father having a married daughter was not in a position to say as to how much of the properties were his own.[37] Thus the wedding expenses went high and they were unable to meet it at times.[38] For this frequent change of husbands her parents and even the entire community suffered.[39] It was largely for this reason that the Khonds preferred to give their girls in marriage in a tribe of a distance place in which case they were required to pay a smaller amount towards bride price.[40] Of course in this connection the Khonds used to pretend that bestowing their daughters in marriage on the men of their own tribe, was degrading.[41] In this context Macpherson on inquiry has given the same view. But it is an admitted fact that due to their marriage customs they were required to give many presents which they were unable to pay on account

34. Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 55;
Macphersons's Memorials, p. 133.
35. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 3459G), Translation of an arji addressed to the Acting Junior Assistant by the Sub-Magistrate of Udavagiri June 9, 1869;
Angul Gazetter, p. 26.
36. H B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 104.
37. Angul Gazetteer. p. 26.
38. E Thurston, op cit., Vol. III, p. 386.
39. R,G. Latham, op. cit., p. 338;
H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 106.
40. John Capper, *Three Presidencies of India*, p. 421;
E.T Dalton, op. cit., p. 288;
Herbert Risley, *The People of India*, pp. 164-165.
41. Campbell's Narrative, p. 142;
In his Essay on Primitive Marriage' (1865), J.F. MacLenaan refers to Major Macpherson's 'Account of the Religion of the Khonds in Orissa' for "the distinct statement that among the Khonds inter-marriage berween same persons of the same tribe, however large or scattered is considered incenstuous and punishable by death" (Quoted in H H. Risley't '*The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 399).

of their poverty.[42]

Thus for all such perplexities, the Khonds thought to do away with their daughters in their infancy.[43] It was admitted by the Khonds before Macpherson thus, "To our tribe a married daughter is a curse. We prefer the death of our female infants before they see the light".[44] Unfortunately the ignorant Khonds did not perceive that the very scarcity of the brides heightened their bride-prices.[45] Giving the sole reason of the practice George Russell who discovered it reported that the marriage expense was the plea to kill their newly-born female babies.[46] Thus it is to be observed that frequent dissolution of marriage as recognised by their social system and consequent expenses led to the origin of infanticide.[47]

Yet there was another plausible cause of the origin of the practice. And that was all due to very temperament of the Khonds towards their females. They somehow believed that their impoverised economic condition was due to their females. With no utilitarian value, they were merely a financial burden.[48] Of course "Among the Hindus", writes Edward Moor, "the birth of a daughter is considered an inferior event, and they rarely make it a subject of congratulation or festivity ; while the birth of a son is celebrated with every ostentation and hilarity."[49] Referring to the text of Manu, Colonel Alexander Walker has also pointed out further that many instances have been 'cited as to the importance of a son, but nowhere a daughter is looked on as a welcome increment'.[50] This was more so in the case of the Khonds.

42. SRG (India), No. V, p. 108, Campbells' Report, August 19, 1848.
43. H.B Rowney, op. cit., pp. 106-107.
44. Macphersoo's Memorials, pp. 133-134.
45. S. Pearce Carey, op. cit., p. 16
46. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 28, Reports on the Disturbances in Parla Kimedy, Vizagapatam and Goomsur, August 12, 1836
47. J.C. Browne, op. cit., p. 213.
48. Neville A. Watts, *The Half-clad Tribals of Eastern India*, p. 50.
49. Edward Moor (Ed.), *Hindu Infanticide* (London, 1811), p. 57.
50. Ibid, p. 271.

Entertaining a low opinion of female morality, their young men were not very much eager to take upon themselves the responsibilities of the married life.[51] When John Campbell asked some of the Khond males as to why they had remained unmarried, they replied, 'Wives are so expensive.'[52] And added to it, there was general poverty of the Khond for which they could not provide food for their children, male or female.[53]

Thus it is to be observed that ancestral beliefs tinged with superstitions of the Khonds, their marriage customs, poverty, ignorance and contempt for the female sex were the obvious factors that led to the practice of infanticide.

Mode of Infanticide

The mode of the practice of infanticide varied from place to place. In the infanticidal tracts of the Ganjam district, female infants were destroyed by exposing them to the jungle ravines a few days after their birth.[54]

In Chinna Kimedy, the mode of destruction of infants was somewhat different. Soon after the astrologer's declaration that the new-born baby was the source of evils and misfortunes for the family, the concerned infant used to be placed inside a new earthen pot with a small amount of rice and wild flowers kept underneath Then the mouth of the pot was closed with a lid, with the result that the child died of suffocation. Then a fowl was sacrificed and the child was buried.[55]
In places like Korkahputtah and Jhoomkah the manner of killing the child was a little different. Instead of placing the child inside an earthern vessel, a piece of cloth was wrapped tight around the body so that the child died. Then the burial took place.[56] In certain other places, the children were killed

51. H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 106.
52. Campbell's Narrative, p. 143.
53. The Calcutta Review, Vol. 115, 1902, p. 64.
54. SRG (India), No. V, p. 46, Macpherson's Report, April 24, 1842.
55. Campbell's Narrative, p. 149;
E.T. Dalton, op. cit., p. 289.
56. Campbell's Narrative, p. 149.

by piercing arrows into their bodies.[57]

SUPPRESSION OF INFANTICIDE

The suppression of infanticide was a long-drawn process in which the British Government was greatly associated.

Difficulties in the Suppression of the practice

Soon after the discovery of the practice; the British Government including a few social philanthrophists became keen to eradicate this social evil. But there were several difficulties in this regard. And the geographical isolation of the Khonds posed the greatest difficulty. Staying in the tilly areas, they remained isolated from other and with no education, they remained in the darkness of ignorance. As such they could not feel the social changes taking place in the outer world. So they were bent upon sticking to their customs and usages and they grew strong in their practice as there was no opposition to it. Secondly the custom had been so deeply rooted in the habits of the Khonds that they were not easily prepared to give up their long-standing ancestral pattern of life.[58] So the British rightly realised that the proclamation of edicts or treaties would be of no avail. In this context one instance of the effort in the past and its failure has been given by Campbell. Once the Raja of Jeypore of Orissa, being prompted by humanitarian zeal, had sent a Brahmin official to one of his tributary districts for the suppression of infanticide by means of peaceful persuasion. But the Khonds bound this official's hands and feet, and threw him over a rock forty feet high. Of course for this tragic fate of the Brahmin, the Raja fined them one thousand rupees, equal to the entire wealth of the Khonds. But it produced no result in minimising the practice.[59] Thirdly, the climate of the infanticidal tract was unhealthy and as such it told upon the health and constitution of the outsiders.[60] Many British officers therefore had to leave

57. Meriah Reports, p. 73. MacNeill's Report, May 14, 1859.
58 John Capper, op. cit., p. 422.
59. Campbell's Narrative, p. 150.
60. SRG (India), No. V, p. 83. Mills' Report, June 1, 1844.

the place, being incapacitated to attend to their work. Fourthly, the Khonds performed the practice so secretly that nobody could know about the places of occurrence. It was due to the absence of good roads that many such regions could not be contacted. Fifthly, in some places the local chiefs and the Rajas were the abbettors of this practice. Lieutenant J M. Smith wrote in 1865 that one Raja of Koraput was said to have made money out of the practice of infanticide in one of the large taluks. It was with the knowledge of the Raja that one Amin of the taluk, Narayan Mishra, was collecting a fee for killing the infant after prediction of the astrologer. Out of the fees thus collected, he used to pay the Raja three hundred rupees a year for enjoying this privilege. Thus the Raja of Jeypore made it a regular source of income.[61] There was yet another difficulty in suppressing this custom. The infanticidal Khond tracts were not directly under the British jurisdiction. The Raja was in charge of the administration. There was thus a legal hurdle.

Inspite of these difficulties, the British Government made efforts and succeeded in suppressing the practice in Orissa. They had made a beginning in other parts of India before handling the affairs in Orissa. Hence a resume of the efforts at all India level is given first which by and large facilitated the suppression in Orissa.

Measures for the suppression of infanticide

Long before the discovery of infanticide in Orissa, a move had been afoot to eradicate it from other parts of India. In 1789, Jonathan Duncan, the Resident at Benares, for the first time detected its existence among the Rajkumars and drew the attention of the Government for its eradication. But the British social policy then being one of non-interference, no effort was made in this direction. Moreover the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, was personally against active interference in the social customs of the Indians. After him, Sir John Shore passed a Regulation in 1795 against the

61. R.C.S. Bell, *Orissa, District Gazetteers, Koraput*, p. 34; E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 386.

practice prevalent amongst the Rajkumars of Jaunpur.[62] But the attitude of the Directors of the East India Company towards the social matters of India was then indifferent. It was neither rigid or consistent.[63] So the Regulation of 1795 did not work. But efforts were made time and again. Behind it, lay the contribution of some philanthropists and Missionaries.

In the first two decades of the 19th century many Englishmen with philanthropic attitudes put pressure on the Government to launch a vigorous policy for the suppression of infanticide. Edward Moor in his work on 'Hindu Infanticide' exposed this revolting crime in 1811 and pleaded for its eradication. In July 1819 Colonel Alexander Walker* wrote to the Secretary to the Court of Directors advocating the abolition of this inhuman practice in view of the humanitarian ideals of the British Government.[64] In Balasore a Missionary, A. Sutton, brought the matter to the notice of the Government in August. 1828, pleading for the benign care of the female children. Further in August 830 the outstanding Missionary James Peggs in his book 'India's Cries to British Humanity' discussed the evils of the practice with some suggestions for its annihilation. He desired to give donations to the concerned persons for their marriage expenses. At the same time he suggested the imposition of fines on the abettors of the offences.[65] It was also suggested that the Chiefs of the friendly States outside the British jurisdiction were to be appealed to do their best to end this practice as they were bound by treaties.[66]

62. J.H. Harington, *An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General-in-Council at Fort William* (Calcutta, 1805). Hindu Widows, 2, part I, p. 9.
63. M.N Das, *Studies in Economic and Social Development of Modern India, 1848-56* (Calutta, 1959), p. 327.

* Alexander Walker was the President at Baroda and he retired from Bombay establishment in 1819.

64. Hindoo Infanticide, pp. 118-119, Alexander Walker, to the Secretary to the Court of Directors, July 19, 1819.
65. James Peggs, *India, Cries to British Humanity*, p. 164.
66. John Capper, op. cit., p. 421.

Thus even before the discovery of infanticide in Orissa, a favourable opinion for its abolition had already been created in India as well as in England.[67]

It was after the detection of this practice in Orissa that the British Government considered its abolition as an imperative duty to God and man. So they decided to exert the utmost influence for its suppression.[68] At this time the success in the suppression of infanticide in the Punjab had encouraged the British Government to abolish it elsewhere.[69] So the attention of the Government then fell on Orissa. But unlike elsewhere, in Orissa the British officers could not work wholeheartedly as they were deeply devoted to the suppression of a more brutal social crime, namely Meriah.[70]

Meanwhile in 1836, G.E. Russell in his report on infanticide sent to the Madras Government suggested that some desired measures be taken for the suppression of the practice. Though the Madras Government acknowledged such a need. Russell could not do anything seriously in this matter. Even then he visited those tracts and persuaded the Khonds to give up this practice. A few of the Khonds were convinced and discontinued this custom. Meanwhile in 1841 Lieutenant Macpherson was sent at the behest of Lord Elphinstone was deputed to take up measures for the simultaneous suppression of Meriah sacrifice and infanticide.[71] Then he visited the infanticidal tracts and reported in April 1842 that he had found no female children at all in some of the villages of those areas. Furnishing this fact he strongly argued for the suppression of infanticide. Reiterating further he reported that due to the scarcity of women marriage payments were very high, with the result that every man had not been able to procure a wife. The cessation of infanticide therefore would remove all such shortcomings, he stated.[72] He further

67. N.R. Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 259.
68. SRG (India), No. V, p. 100, Macpherson's Report October 15 1846.
69. M.N. Das, op. cit., p. 359.
70. Man in India, Vol. 40, No. 1, Jan-March 1960, p. 30.
71. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 386.
72. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 67-68, Macpherson's Report, July 10, 1844.

enlightened the Government on the regulation and adjudication of marriage contracts. Macpherson reporting it to the Government explained it to the Khonds as well Some of them were convinced. Consequently they spared their female children. With the result that more daughters began to appear specially in three districts where the crime had prevailed most. About on the nett results of his efforts, Macpherson reported in 1844 that 170 girls had been saved within two years. Of them 70 were in Pondacole, 45 in Deegi and 55 in Goldi.[73] On the basis of this report, the Madras Government recommended to the Government of India to confer magisterial powers on the Principal Assistant in the districts adjacent to Ganjam for the simultaneous suppression of infanticide and Meriah sacrifice.[74] Taking all those recommendations into considera-tion the Government of India promulgated on July 19, 1845, the Act XXI by which a special Agency was created, compri-sing the whole tract where infanticide and Meriah prevailed.[75] The Act also provided for the appointment of an Agent and his Assistants and they were also named. While Captain Macpherson was to work as Agent, Surgeon J. Cadenhead was to work as Principal Assistant and Lieutenant J. MacViccar as the Assistant.[76]

After Macpherson his successor Lieutenant Colonel John Campbell took up the matter in 1845. A brave and sympathe-tic officer, he evinced immense interest in the matter.[77] To start with, he appointed two local people, Sebundy Jemadar Moodhoobas Sing and Malia Gumasta Sanyasi Chaudhury, to gather the relevant information about the customs pertaining to infanticide. Accordingly they proceeded to Surada and to a few other places where they learnt that all the Khonds of those Malias, with very few exceptions, had been destroying

73 Ibid, p. 69.
74. Ibid, p. 71.
75. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 12;
SRG (India), No. V, p. 90, Act. XXI, July 19, 1845.
76. SRG (India), No. V, pp. 93-94, Bushby's Report, September 10, 1845.
77. Verrier Elwin, *The Religion of an Indian Tribe* (Bombay, 1955), p. XIII.

their female infants.[78] This being reported to John Campbell, he visited the infanticidal areas of Surada. The Khonds of Kudodpunka, Jedrubanday, Kirupubandy, Dokorobandy, and Bhomarabandy muthas made a frank confession of the practice which their ancestors had resorted to. They admitted further that for the last four years they had discontinued the practice when the Government had ordered them to do so.[79] Even then John Campbell made efforts for the complete eradication of the evil. His policy was to kill the very germs of the evil instead of applying mere healing balm for its cure. So he tried to remove from the Khonds the prejudice against marrying females of their own community, and told them further that he would provide them brides from among the rescued Meriah girls with no payment whatsoever.[80] By then a good number of young girls were there among the rescued Meriahs at his disposal. Brought up with all care by the Government, they were somewhat educated and enlightened. As such it was expected that these Meriah girls would not as mothers consent to the practice of infanticide. Other inhabitants of the muthas would be influenced by such action.[81]

That was not all that John Campbell did in this connection. The Chiefs of the infanticidal muthas were induced to enter into formal engagements to abandon the practice on condition that they would get protection from the British Government.[82] He also introduced the system of registering the names of men, their wives and their children, so as to facilitate the Government in knowing the loss of female children in future. But the Khonds did not cooperate. They fled in fear, for their superstitious belief that the very numbering would bring death upon them.[83] So John Campbell had to abandon the idea of

78. Man in India, Vol 40, No. 1, Jan-March, 1960, Representation to Campbell. August 8, 1848.
79. SRG (India). No. V, p 108. Campbell's Report, August 19, 1848.
80 Campbell's Narrative, p. 143.
81. E.T. Dalton, op. cit , p. 289
Campbell's Narrative, p. 143.
82. Thornton's Gazetteer, Vol II, p. 364.
83. Campbell's Narrative, p. 144.

registration. Then he left Surada, thinking of revisiting the area in near future. However during his stay there he realised that permanent abolition of this inhuman practice would be a matter of time. It would not be possible to deal with the crime with the help of any law as any punishment might be viewed as arbitrary. Moreover they might do it in secret.[84] So he proposed for the diffusion of useful knowledge among the Khonds for their moral elevation. This was to be done by opening schools and by introducing the Khond language in such schools.[85] He also proposed a constant visit by British officers to the infested areas for a vigilant supervision. If such officers found during their visits the number of female children to be unusually low in any area, they were not only to enquire about its reasons, but also to show the marks of their displeasure to the Khond Chiefs and the inhabitants of those areas. Simultaneously as incentive he proposed to give presents to all those who were found preserving their infants.[86] These proposals were worked out. From time to time the affected villages were visited by officers of the government. The male and female children were counted. Strings of beads were also presented to the female children so as to encourage their parents to preserve them.[87]

Besides the efforts of the British officers, the activities of the Missionaries were noteworthy for the abolition of the practice of infanticide. Their first step was to remove the social prejudice from the minds of the Khonds. To start with, they began to teach the Khond children with the help of some books in the Khond language prepared by Captain Frye.[88] They also opened schools for the purpose. Then they got a road constructed from Keonjhar to Sonepur so as to make communication to the infanticidal tracts easy. As a result, Missionaries as well as British officials could pay frequent

84. SRG (India), No. V, p 110, Campbell's Report, March 17, 184?.
85. JOH, Vols. V-VI, July 1883-Janua y 1984, p. 76, N R. Patnaik's 'Female Infanticide in Surada in the 19th Century'.
86. Campbell's Narrative, p. 146.
87 Man in India, Vol. 40, No. 1, Jan- March 1960, p. 34.
88. Campbell's Narrative, p. 146.

visits to the areas in question. Thereby their interviews with the chiefs and the people could be facilitated.[89] At the time a few more suggestions were given which John Wilson summarised thus, "The whole population under the British rule and influence, with all its diversified tribes and castes, ought to be brought under an efficient system of statistical inquiry and report and registration, and the course of its increase or diminishmet, with its apparent causes, ought to be regularly noted, and recorded, and considerd".[90]

Thus the vigilance and supervision of the British officials coupled with the efforts of the Missionaries led to the minimisation of the practice. Of course the practice was still in vogue.

In February 1851 when John Campbell came to Chinna Kimedy, to his great satisfaction he found more of female children. It was a clear evidence of the decrease of the practice there. From Chinna Kimedy he came to Surada. While meeting the Chiefs he also met the Meriah women, who had been given in marriage to the Khonds. He learnt from them that female children were being preserved in ever larger numbers. There were some cases of infanticide that they cited. But such cases had occurred under great secrecy and not openly as had been the case in the past.[91] For confirmation he deputed an officer of the Sebundies, well acquainted with the infanticidal tribes. After superintending the areas and counting the children below five years, this officer reported on the gradual preservation of the female infants.[92] Here too John Campbell distributed coloured glass beads to the female children so that the mothers would be encauraged to preserve their offspring. All those were greatly prized.[93] Two years later John Campbell revisited Chinna Kimedy and recorded a large number of female

89 SRG (India), No. V, p 120, MacViccar's Report, April 26, 1851.

90. John Wilson, op. cit., p. 438

91. Meriah Reports, pp. 43-44, Campbell's, Report, April 10, 1852.

92. Campbell's Narrative, p. 219;
Meriah Reports, pp. 43-44, Campbell's Report, April 10, 1852.

93. Man in India, Vol. 40, No. 1, Jan-March 1960, p. 35,

children being reared up. In 1854, he instituted an inquiry which showed a registration of 901 females under five years of age among 2,149, families in the villages where he himself had hardly seen any female child five years before.[94]

In 1855 a census was taken in Surada.* It showed 907 male and 434 female children in a total population of 2413, of whom, again, 1415 were males and 998 females.[95] Similarly in Terungabadi and Mullakabadi, 53 female children under the age of four were living. That year Captain J. MacViccar, the Officiating Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa visited Surada and pointed out a bottleneck in the successful operation. This was lack of local control. Chinna Kimedy had a large number of Oriya leaders, while Surada had none. The Khonds therefore were left to themselves, because of which the practice was still in prevalence. So Captain MacViccar suggested the employment of some Oriyas who would work as a medium between the Government and the people. He expected this practice to yield some good results.[96]

The efforts continued still for the eradication of the practice. In 1856-57 another officer of the Agency, Lieutenant MacNeill, made an extensive tour in the infanticidal tracts. He also visited the muthas of Pootydeso, Jhoomkah, Sorrobisi, Korkahputtah and Rayagada where he found male and female infanticide prevalent still. The Khonds themselves acknowledged it. But in Rayagada MacNeill was happy to learn that Khonds were determined to renounce the rite for ever and that was because they were more civilized than the other Khonds.[97] Then he proceeded to Surada where he addressed the Khonds on the relinquishment of the age-old rite of female infanticide, clearly emphasising the benefits that would accrue to them, if they did so.[98] However, MacNeill learnt that in Surada, though the practice was in decrease, it

94. Campbell's Narrative. p 267.
* See the Census Report in Appendix-L.
95. Meriah Reports, p. 64, MacVicrar's Report, May 21, 1855.
96. Ibid.
97. Meriah Reports, pp. 67-68, MacNeill's Report, May 12, 1857.
98. Ibid, p 69, MacNeill's Report, January 28, 1858.

was not completely non-existent in some remote hill areas.. There he came across such an incident. In Atharah Mutha a Khond woman gave birth to twin daughters. This was considered an indication of great calamities to come. So the two infants were kept in a basket made of leaves and suspended from the branch of a tree. Then they were destroyed by piercing arrows into them.[99]

Meanwhile the British Government inflicted some examplary punishments, specially on those of the Khonds who were instigating others to continue with the rite. One Dombo who was found to have intrigued with certain Khonds of the Subarnagiri district of Chinna Kimedy to commit female infanticide was captured by an Oriya Chief. The information was sent to MacNeill on the January 22, 1858. As a result Dombo was sentenced to imprisonment with labour in irons.[100] This punishment had a salutary effects on others. The Khonds who visited the weekly fair at Surada were greatly influenced when they learnt about this punishment.[101] In this connection MacNeill met some Khonds with their wives who were working with irons as a punishment for their misdeeds. One of them humbly said to MacNeill, "Our wives will now be able to tell the other women of our village how the Sirkar (Government) punished those who disobey is orders and do not listen to advice, and though they might not believe what we (men) tell them, they will certainly believe our wives when they relate what they have seen."[102]

Once again in 1860, MacNeill visited Surada to learn about the continuance of the practice. He found that the suppression of infanticide was no doubt slow, but nevertheless satisfactory. In that season the census of the male-female ratio was taken and he was happy to learn that 205 female infants had been reared up that year. The number of male

99. Ibid, p. 73, Ma Neiil's Report, May, 14, 1859.
100. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1837G), A.C. MacNeill, to W.Knox. Acting Agunt in Ganjam, March 4, 1858.
101. Meriah Report, p. 69, MacNeill's Report, January 28, 1858.
102. Meriah Reports, p. 69, MacNeill's Report, April, 16, 1858.

infants being 236, the proportion was almost 10 males to 9 females. And the total number of females of six years of age was 976, while the males of the same age were 1199. When MacNeill had first visited these areas six years previously, there had been 870 females for 1815 males. But compared to the position of that year there was a marked increase of 180 percent of female population in six years.[103]

Lieutenant MacNeill, then visited Bori, one of the adjoining tracts of Surada. There he discovered that poverty was the only cause of the destruction of female infants. And their poverty was mostly on account of a feud for which an extensive tract of paddy land had remained fallow for the last seven years However because of MacNeill's effort, the land was recultivated. This lessened the poverty of the people to some extent. And with it the practice of infanticide decreased.[104]

Surada was again visited by Lieutenant MacNeill in 1861. Although the Khond Chiefs denied of the occurrence he learnt by his personal observation that in certain muthas this practice was still in vogue. He deputed some faithful Cutcherry servants along with a Maliah Chief to tour from village to village and mutha to mutha After completion of the tour, they reported that although the fear of punishment had much reduced the number of cases of infanticide, the practice had not been completely given up. That was because punishment in the regular course of law was difficult in the absence of sufficient evidence. In such a situation, MacNeill thought, the best remedy would lie in constant supervision. The headmen of those villagers should be asked to send reports to the Government frequently on the ratio of female-male children.[105]

From Surada, MacNeill went to Guddapur of Chinna Kimedy area. There he met the Tata Raja and the Khond Chiefs who informed him that infanticide was still prevalent.

103. Ibid, p. 76, MacNeill's Report, August, 22, 1860.
104. Meriah Reports, p. 79. MacNeill's Report, August 22, 1860.
105. Ibid, p. 81, MacNeill's Report, May 25, 1861.

There in three cases the accused Khonds were sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labour in irons.[106]

In 1863, it was felt that apart from periodical supervision, a police establishment was necessary to effect a greater vigilance. At the same time the need for the construction of a road from Aska to the base of the Ghats through Surada was felt. So its construction commenced first under the Agent's directions.[107] That year, G.B. Forbes, the Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, visited Deegi. Learning about the casual occurrence of infanticide there, he summoned the Khond Chiefs and exhorted them to discontinue the practice although they denied of its existence. He also enlightened them on the legal punishments to be awarded to the culprits.[108] As a result only one case of infanticide occurred in July 1863.[109] This case was tried and the parents were sentenced to transportation for life.[110] That year Forbes also took the census of the male-female population in the infanticidal tracts of Surada and Chinna Kimedy.*

While the British Government was making rapid progress in abolishing the practice, they suddenly got a jerk in 1863 when the Khonds rose against them. That was because the Khonds could not tolerate the firm and persistent checks made by the Agent and the police. Specially the severe prosecution and conviction of the culprits in infanticidal cases were seriously viewed.[111] However the rising was successfully

105. Ibid, p. 82

107. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1153G), Madras Government, Chief Secretary's Order No. 650, April 27, 1863.

108. Ibid, G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to A J. Arbuthnot Chief Secretary to Madras Government, February 17, 1863.

109. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 98, S. Galbraith, Assistant Superintendent of Police, to W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, November 20, 1863.

110. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1453G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to A J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, February 17, 1863.

* See the Census Report in Appendix-M.

111. OHCP, XIV Session, 1988, p. 72. N.R. Patnaik's "A rising in the Khond Tracts of Orissa".

suppressed by the British Government.*

But in Jeypore of Orissa, infanticide was known to have prevailed till as late as 1864. The Police authority failed to adopt strong measures in this direction. That was because it was adopted in secret. So it was decided to open a new establishment recruiting the local people so as to make communication with the native people easy. In fact this village police could detect and put down the crime.[112] Thereafter roads were opened and these roads helped in the effective administration of law.[113]

Meanwhile another step was taken for the suppression of the practice. That was to put a check on the dowry paid by the bridegrooms to the brides. The Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals issued an instruction to limit the dowry to two she-buffaloes, he-buffaloes, eows or bullocks.[114]

In 1870, a General Act was promulgated to prevent the murder of female infants in the British empire in India. It was the Act No. VIII of 1870. This Act empowered the local governments for the suppression and outlined the courses to be taken such as enforcement of Police, punishment for breach of laws and placement of the neglected children. Originally extending to the North-Western Provinces, the Punjab and Oudh it was decided to extend it to other parts where infanticide prevailed.[115] Accordingly a copy of the Act was sent to the Agent of Ganjam with a request to report his opinion on the possibility of its application to different parts under his charge.[116] But since the practice in Khond tracts had already

* Details of this rising have been discussed in Chapter-VII

112. SRG (Madras), Jeypore, No. LXXXI, p. 87, W. Robison, Inspector General of Madras Police, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government. January 26, 1864.
113. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 2784G), Madras Government, p. 18, March 20, 1866.
114. Bd. Paocd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 3459G), Translation of an arji addressed to the Acting Junior Assistant by the Sub-Magistrate of Udayagiri, June 9, 1869.
115. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1425G), Acts of the Government of India, St. George Gazette, Supplement, April 12, 1870.
116. Bd. Procd, Jud (OA LSR Acsn 3756G), Madras Government, April 29, 1870.

been abandoned, the necessity of the application of this Act to Orissa did not arise then.

Thus a primitive struggle for bare existence came to an end in Orissa. And it was solely by the efforts of the British Government that it could be effected. Their policy was characterised by wisdom, benevolence and preservance and "it was rarely exemplified" writes Wilson, "in the annals of philanthrophy".[117] And the outstanding result coming in the wake of suppression was the rise of the value of women. No more did they remain a saleable commodity.[118] The hatred of the Khonds towards girls grew less virulent. The dowry, called bride price, being less, the marital life in the Khond community became happier. Side by side the Khond boys who were not in a position to marry on account of the high bride price got themselves married in greater numbers.

117. John Wilson, op. cit., pp. 434-435.
118. H.H. Risley op. cit., Vol. I, p. lxvii.

7

Khond Rebellions

For the tribal people, freedom means liberation from an alien system. It also means a demand for some concessions from their rulers; restoration of traditional rights over lands and forests.[1] All the tribals of India, to whatever clan they might belong, have a strong urge for freedom and natural justice. When these rights were denied they put up resistance periodically against the British rule.[2] And the Khonds were the first who raised their arms against the British in the Paik rebellion of 1817. It was followed by two other glorious rebellions of the Khonds. Of those one was led by the famous Dora Bissoi and the other by the veteran leader Chakra Bissoi. Apart from these two, for various other reasons, the Khonds also rose in rebellion several times in different regions of the Khond tracts throughout the later part of the nineteenth century. A few of such important rebellions of the Khonds are as follows.

Ghumsar Rebellions

1835 A.D. was an inglorious year in the history of Orissa. That year the British occupied Ghumsar and this occupation led to a sensational rebellion by the Khonds.

1. A.R.N Srivastava, *Tribal Freedom Fighters of India* (New Delhi 1986), In Preface.
2. Gopinath Mohanty, Souvenir published at the Second All India Tribal Welfare Conference held at Bhubaneswar.

Causes of the Rebellions

Behind this Ghumsar rebellion of 1835 against the British, lay some causes.

Political Causes

By the end of 1766 the Northern Circars including Ganjam and Ghumsar were under the occupation of the British. Since then there was a constant unrest in the zamindary of Ghumsar due to mismanagement by the British authority. The tribute fixed by the British Government was quite heavy.[3] It was also frequently increased. The Government tried to realise it by any coercive means. Hence the discontent. Furthermore, the British officials also unduly interfered in succession affairs of the zamindary. They nominated persons of their own choice to the Ghumsar throne during the absence of the Rajas even against the people's wishes. The rights and privileges which the Rajas of Ghumsar had been enjoying were curtailed by the British authority. Therefore the Rajas, time and again, raised their voice against the British Government.[4] The laws and regulations introduced in Ghumsar by the British Government were also not suitable to the nature and condition of the State and the character of its people.[5] So the people had to suffer under the British administration. Supporting the cause of the Rajas the Khonds also rose in rebellion in defence of their religion, rites and freedom. There was another factor which promoted the Rajas and their Khond subjects to resist the British rule. That was the very geography to Ghumsar. The inaccessibility of the Khond tracts due to its wild nature acted as hurdles for the British operations.[6]

3. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1847, p. 7, A. Duff's 'Goomsur, The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
4. D. Behera, *Freedom Movement in the State of Ghumsar in Orissa*, p. 82.
5. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 47, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837.
6. Ganjam Manual, p. 85.

Economic Causes

The clash of economic interests has been one of the potent factors in various tribal uprisings of India.[7] And the Khond uprising of Ghumsar was no exception to it.

The Khonds were very poor.[8] And behind their poverty, lay tribal feuds, remoteness of the marts, primitive methods of cultivation, practice of human sacrifice and buffalo-sacrifice and the ceremonial customs. The exploitation by the Sundis, Sowcars and Oriya traders also added to their sufferings[9] The feudal exploitation like the Goti and the Bethi systems increased their miseries.

The Khonds considered themselves the proprietors of the lands. So they were not mentally prepared to pay and tax to the Government.[10] But the British Government imposed certain taxes on the Khonds.[11] Though the amount was small, they were reluctant to make payments. Besides the British Government, the Mutha-Chiefs like the Bissois and Patros extorted a lot from the Khonds.[12] Only in the later times, the Government instructed the Mutha-Chiefs not to collect such dues arbitrarily and that too by force. But it had very little effect. That was not all. The excessive regulations of the Government also brought dissatisfaction among some sections of the Khonds.

Furthermore, the Khond dominated area of Ghumsar was frequently visited by natural calamities. The failure of crops due to drought brought about famines. The Government's relief measures were inadequate and inoperative. In addition to it, epidemics like Cholera and black-fever increased their miseries.[13]

7. V. Raghavaiah, *Tribal Revolts* (Nellore, 1971), p. 15.
8. Stanley P. Rice, *Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life*, pp. 97-98.
9. E. Thurston op. cit., Vol. III, p. 358;
   Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. 11, 1957-58, p. 101,
   F.G. Bailey's 'Political Change in the Kondmals'.
10. E T. Dalton, *Tribal History of Eastern India*, p. 294;
    H H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 397.
11. Ganjam Manual, p. 11.
12. Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 12.
13. Ganjam Manual, pp. 190-191.

All those factors made the financial condition of the Khonds, particularly of Ghumsar, distressing.[14] And the Khonds and other people of these States could not see any chance to ameliorate their poverty and hardship.

Thus the agrarian discontent coupled with the Government's heavy impositions led the people to suffer. And this economic suffering made the Khonds turbulent and rebellious.

Socio-religious Causes

In the 19th century while the British Government was shaping its new colonial policy for India with a 'civilizing mission' in view, it set aside the cautious socio-religious policy followed hitherto, and they intervened in the socio-religious customs of the natives.[15] Naturally the Khond tracts came under the spell of this policy. When the British Government discovered among the Khonds the prevalence of two gruesome practices like Meriah sacrifice and infanticide, they desired to suppress the same by application of force or otherwise. On certain occasion the British Government shamelessly perpetrated the most ruthless oppression of the Khonds in name of humanitarianism.[16]

These Khonds who were very much rigid and emotionally attached to their socio-religious beliefs considered the policy of suppression as naked attack on their age-old customs.[17]

The introduction of education in the Khond tracts created adverse effects in the minds of the natives in the first instance. Being guided by superstitions, they were apathetic to education So they developed resentment towards the introduction of education in their localities.[18]

The British Government adopted a series of measures to convert India into a land of Christianity. The General Baptist

14. Stevenson's Report on Goomsur, pp. 1-2.
15. N.R Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 294.
16. W.W. Hunter, A. Stirling, J. Beams, N.K. Sahu, *A History of Orissa*, (Calcutta, 1956), Vol. II, p. 397.
17. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, pp. 42-43, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11. 1837.
18. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 179-180.

Missionaries under the patronage of the British authorities came to Ganjam in 1827.[19] They began to convert the Khonds into the Christian faith mostly with an ulterior motive.[20] For this purpose they established a Missionary Sub-station at Russelkonda.[21] Subsequently some Khonds came to the fold of Christianity.[22] But the Khonds in general began to believe, and rightly so, that their age-old religion would meet its end soon and Christianity would take its place. They thought that by converting them into Christianity, the British Government would easily suppress their independent spirit.[23]

The Khonds were thus driven to despair and resorted to insurrection under the banner of the patriotic Khond leaders and launched a sort of Jehad against the British.[24]

Thus it is to be observed that unnecessary interference of the British officials in succession affairs of Ghumsar, humiliation and harassment to their Rajas, unsuitability of the British laws and regulations, economic sufferings of the Khonds, intervention in their socio-religious customs combined to bring a political unrest which resulted in rebellion by the Khonds against the British authority.

Khond Rebellion under Kamalalochan Dora Bissoi

The Khond rebellion in Ghumsar was directed by one Kamalalochan Dora Bissoi.

A Benniah Khond, he was born in the village Binjigiri located near Kullada of lower Ghumsar. He was the Abbaya or patriarch of the Jakro tribe of the Khonds. The hereditary federal patriarch of the Khond tribes of Ghumsar was con-

19. Ganjam Manual, p 242.
20. OHRJ, Vol. XXXV, Nos. 1-2, p. 34, N.R. Patnaik's 'Missionary activities and its social impact on 19th Century Orissa'.
21. OHCP, XII Session, 1986, pp. 90-91, D Behera's 'Christian Missionary activities in Ghumsur in the 19th Century'.
22. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 8, Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various Official Documents
23. S. Thiady, *Phulbani—The Khondland*, p. 33.
24. W.W. Hunter, A. Stirling, J. Beams, N.K. Sahu, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 397.

fined to Kamalalochan's family.[25] He was endowed with many qualities of leadership. A good wrestler and an excellent swordsman, he was a chivalrous and fearless person. Because of his many-sided talents, and a charming personality, Kamalalochan was elected as 'Dora Bissoi' or the 'federal patriarch' in place of his elder brother Ram Singh Bakshi.[26] Besides, the title 'Birabara Patro' was conferred on him by Dhananjaya Bhanja, the Raja of Ghumsar. The Raja also appointed him the Maliah Bissoi or the 'Head Agent' to represent all the Maliah Khonds of his State.[27] Thus by 1835, Kamalalochan stood strong with twofold assignments, namely 'federal patriarch of a cluster of a Khond tribes' and 'Agent for Khond affairs' to the Raja of Ghumsar.[28] Furthermore, being impressed by Kamalalochan's courage and leadership, the Raja of Ghumsar made him the Commander-in-chief of his forces, with the title of Bahadur Bakshi. A sum of rupees seventy thousand was placed in his hands for the management of the military establishment of Ghumsar estate.[29]

Dhananjaya Bhanja, the Raja of Ghumsar, was a young man of dissolute habits and violent temperament.[30] In 1814 he was summoned by the British authorities for the crime he committed in murdering some of his relatives. But he did not honour the summons. So the British Government declared the zamindary of Ghumsar forfeited.[31] Dhananjaya Bhanja was arrested in June 1815 and sent to Chingleput as a State

25 Ganjam Manual, p 148;
P. Mukherjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI, p. 191.

26 Macpherson's Report upon Khonds, p. 29.

27. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 20, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1886.

28. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 31, Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various Official Documents.

29 Orissa Review, Vol. XLVI, No. 1, August 1999, p. 21, D. Behera's 'The Ghumsur Rebellions (1753-1866)'.

30. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 30-32;
P. Mukherjee, Op. Cit., p. 191

31. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 7, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.

prisoner.[32] After the imprisonment of Dhananjaya Bhanja the Ghumsar estate was managed for three years by Dora Bissoi with the help of two of his close associates, namely Bahubalendra and Jagannath Bhanja. This triumvirate managed the administration in the name of Balabhadra Bhanja, the son of Dhananjaya. But in fact Balabhadra Bhanja was not alive at the time. He had been murdered long ago. This conspiracy was exposed by the Srikar Bhanja, the father of Dhananjaya. So he was eventually reinstated in Ghumsar zamindary in May 1819.[33] But a few years after his reinstation, Srikar Bhanja again failed to pay the stipulated tribute to the British Government. So he was once more dethroned. He was also forced to retire to Puri in 1832.[34] Then his son Dhananjaya Bhanja was again restored to Ghumsar zamindary.[35] Dhananjaya paid the tribute regularly for a couple of years, but soon became a defaulter. This led the British authorities to take military action against him.[36] The British force occupied Ghumsar in November 1835 and Dhananjaya Bhanja was derecognised as the Raja of Ghumsar.[37] This action of the British led to a widespread rebellion.

When Dhananjaya Bhanja was dispossessed of his zamindary he fled to the hills. He summoned his Khond subjects and requested them for his protection. His request was readily responded to by the Khonds and their leaders Dora Bissoi. He guided the Raja, Dhananjaya Bhanja.[38] He

32. SRG (Madras), H. Spottiswood, Collector of Ganjam to Government of Madras, June 24, 1815.
33. Ganjam Manual, p. 141.
34. Campbell's Narrative, p. 30.
35. MJLS, Vol. VII, January-June, 1838, p. 103, W. Taylor's 'Some additional Notes on the Hill Inhabitants of the Goomsur Mountains, with the translation of a Telugu paper, containing an Historical Narrative of Bhonju Family, Feudal Chieftains of Gumsara'.
36. Ganjam Manual, pp. 147-148.
37. SRG (Madrass), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 14, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.
38. Campbell's Narrative, p. 32.

called a meeting of all the militia of the Maliahs at the hill land of Kainzara where they took an oath with a Tika, i.e. a blood spot on the forehead, to continue the fight against the British force.[39] Since then, the place has come to be known as Tikabli.*

When the situation assumed a serious proportion, the Collector of Ganjam suggested that some other person, invested with greater powers should be appointed to deal with the situation. Accordingly George Edward Russell, a member of the Madras Board of Revenue was sent as Special Commissioner for the purpose.[40] Leaving Madras on December 22, 1835 he reached Ghumsar on January 11, 1836.[41] A large force, chiefly composed of troops from Madras reached Ghumsar to suppress the rebellion.[42] The force consisted of the 49th and 8th Regiments, 2 companies of the 21st, and detachments of the 3rd and 10th Regiments together with 4 howitzers.[43] The Government of India ordered the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals to assist Russell in the operation against the rebels of Ghumsar.[44]

Energetic and intelligent, George Russell was an experienced officer. Thus a right person was chosen by the Government for the purpose. Appreciating his ability Macpherson writes thus

> "The whole country was in a state of insurrection and rebellion; and he (Russell) was invested with a special commission, backed by the necessary military force, to quell the rebellion, and re-establish peace and security of life and property, where hitherto all had been disorder

39. S. Th ady, op. cit., p. 18.
* Tikabali : Tika+Valli—'Tika' means blood-spot on the forehead and 'Valli' means 'hill' or 'stones' in the Khond language.
40 Madras Presidency Manual, Vol. II, p. 77.
41. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V. No. IX, 1846, p. 12, A Duff's 'Goomsur ; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
42. Campbell's Narrative, p. 32.
43. Ganjam Manual, p. 148.
44. Quoted in P. Mukherjee. *History of Orissa*, Vol. VI. p. 193, Secretary, Political Department, to Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, February 22, 1836.

and violence. This task he (Russell) undertook with promptitude and prosecuted throughout with untiring vigor and determined energy-sparing no pains, or trouble or personal fatigue freely exposing himself to the unhealthiness of the climate in all its unmitigated forms—running all the risks and hazards of a galling and all but universal guerilla warfare—accompanying the troops in their various expeditions through the thorns and thickets of an interminable wilderness-following them along rugged defiles and steep and almost precipitous mountain passes, never before trodden by the foot of civilized man—and tracking the rebel fugitives in their devious wanderings from one jungly or craggy fastness to another, over the length and the breadth of an almost impassable territory. All this and much more Mr. Russell achieved."[45]

Yet the supression of the rebellion became a herculean task for the British. The Khond rebels showed their determination and courage in resisting the British under their celebrated leader Dora Bissoi. There were also other leaders. They were Brundaban Bhanja (an illegitimate son of Srikar Bhanja), Jagannath Bhanja (a member of the Bhanja family), Madhu Bhanja, Sundaray Bissoi, Baliar Singh, Champaty, Udandaray, Bahubalendra, Sonia Singh, Punia Naik, Hatiram, Jajursingh Naik, Sangram Singh, Chonchona Singh, Ram Singh Bakshi (brother of Dora Bissoi), Sonka Bissoi (nephew of Dora Bissoi) and Nanda Bissoi. All of them were more or less brave, courageous and capable of conducting the attack on the British force. At their instance Khond rebels did not meet the disciplined British troops in open fields. That was also the general policy of the Khonds. It was from behind the bush and the rock that they used to aim invisibly with their fatal shafts; for there was scarcely a solitary crag or thicket that could not conceal a foe from the deadly axe and poisoned arrow. In this way they repeatedly

45. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December 1846 pp. 46-47, Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the District of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various Official Documents.

cut off stragglers, and small guards.[46] This type of guerilla warfare created insurmountable trouble for the British force.[47] The climate of the Khond tracts also added to the problem of the British. In this connection Russell has stated that the climate was 'too inimical to the constitution of strangers.'[48] Furthermore, the British force had little knowledge of the area. They also faced difficulties in traversing the Khond tracts due to its inaccessibility.[49]

Meanwhile Raja Dhananjaya Bhanja died at Udayagiri on December 31, 1835 leaving his family to the care of the Khonds.[50]

It was on February 14, 1836 that the British troops under Captain Butler ascended the Ghats for the first time, and entered the Ghumsar Maliah in pursuit of Brundaban Bhanja and the family of the deceased Dhananjaya Bhanja. They were expected to be at Udayagiri. Captain Butler's object was not only to capture the members of the Raja's family but also to recover the treasure that he was known to have left behind him. The British force of course met some resistance from the Khonds while ascending the Ghats. But subsequently they managed to establish good relations with them. Yet the Khond Chiefs refused to hand over the refugees. Meanwhile some troops badly conducted themselves by forcibly seizing fowls in the villages of the Khonds. This led to a quarrel between them and the inhabitants of the area.[51]

46. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, January-March 1846, p. 16, A Duff's 'Goomsur; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
47. H K Mahtab (Ed.), *Odissa Bidrohara Samkhipta Itihasa* (in Oriya, Bhubaneswar,———), p. 21;
S. Thiady, op. cit., p. 19;
Barbara M. Boal, *The Konds*, p. 36.
48. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December 1846, p. 50. Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various Official Documents.
49. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 56, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.
50. Ganjam Memoir, p. 5.
51. Ganjam Manual, p. 149.

Dora Bissoi made use of this opportunity. He instigated the Khonds to expel the British troops from their locality. Focussing on this situation A. Duff writes, "It was strongly asseverated that the real and the ultimate intention of the Government was to deprive them of the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed and so highly prized their independence and the liberties they regarded as their birthright to seize upon their country and subject it to a heavy revenue assessment. Decived and duped by such artful and mischievous representations, the deluded people, in an evil hour, resolve to resort to arms and repel force by force. Every attempt was made to undeceive them, but in vain. And this was the signal for the commencement of a harassing and miserable and inglorious warfare."[52]

The insurgent Khonds attacked a British detachment of thirty-five men in the Kurmingia pass between Udayagiri and Durgaprasad while the troops were escorting the prisoners. In this encounter thirteen of British troops were killed along with two British officers, namely Lieutenant Bromley and Ensing Gibbon.[53]

This bloody incident impelled the British Government to take some more effective steps in quelling the rebellion. A proclamation was issued under which rewards were offered for the capture of the rebel leaders.[54] While five thousand rupees were offered for the apprehension of Dora Bissoi, a reward of rupees five hundred or more were offered for others.[55] But this did not work. The Khonds were not tempted to give up their leader, Dora Bissoi. In this connection A. Duff writes, "Wretched and poverty-stricken though the people were, not one in all Khondistan was found ready, in the case of one of their own Chiefs, to take the price of blood."[56]

52. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V. No. IX, 1846, p. 14, A. Duff's 'Goomsur ; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
53. Ganjam Manual, p. 149.
54. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V. No. IX, 1846, p. 14, A. Duff's 'Goomsur ; The late war there— The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
55 SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol II, p. 27, First Report on Goomsoor, Auguse 12, 1836.
56. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 14, A. Duff's 'Goomsur ; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes.'

Meanwhile efforts were made by the Government to prevent any hostilities with the Khonds. They were assured that they had nothing to fear. To counteract the rumour that heavy duties would be imposed, the British Government immediately declared that there was no truth in it. They would only pay the general duty that they had been paying to the Government. Russell suggested to the Government to abolish even that duty within the zamindaries of Ghumsar and Surada or failing that, it might be suspended for a period.[57] The British authorities also tried to establish friendly relations with the Khonds.[58] Small presents like silk and red clothes we redistributed among the Khonds to keep them in good humour. The British troops while passing through Khond villages bartered clothes and tobacco for fowls with the Khonds.[59] Russell also left no stone unturned to win the chiefs of the different Khond muthas. He offered them kind treatment and distributed among them most acceptable presents like woollen, scarlet or red blankets.[60]

But all these measures had little effect on the Khonds and their Chiefs. The Bissois still kept themselves aloof and no offer of money or other presents could induce the Khonds to give up their rebellious activities.[61] They still continued to give their ardent support to their leader Dora Bissoi. Reiterating its reason A. Duff writes, "Dora Bissoi, as their principal chieftain, was an object of the deepest reverence to the Khonds. He had freely thrown himself on their hospitality and protection. And in that feeling of honour, which in such circumstances, such wild tribes, whatever be the other

57. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 60, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.
58. The Calcutta Review Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 14, A. Duff's 'Goomsur ; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
59. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 27, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.
60. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. III, pp. 59-60, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836;
Ganjam Manual, pp. 149-150.
61. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II. p. 30, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.

defects of their character, have often been seen to exhibit, he found a refuge of more inviolable security than in the munitions of rocks."[62]

Meanwhile the British force learnt that Amhajhara and Jiripada were two centres of Khond insurgency. So they made an attack on these two places with a bewildering rapidity. But on their arrival they found that Dora Bissoi and his followers had already left the place. They had escaped to the neighbouring States of Daspalla and Nayagarh.[63] So Russell himself proceeded to Daspalla to apprehend Dora Bissoi. But he did not succeed in his mission. On the other hand, Stevenson, the Collector of Ganjam, succeeded in capturing some rebels.[64] Dora Bissoi still remained at large. In this capture the Rajas of Daspalla and Nayagarh helped the British to a considerable degree. They were ordered by the British authority to deliver up the rebels who had sought refuge in their territories.[65] Furthermore, the treachery of some Hindu Oriyas and the Government Revenue Agents helped the British in achieving success.[66] Through them some Bissois were also won over by the Government.

In the meantime, Pattamahadei ; the widowed Rani of the deceased Dhananjaya Bhanja, along with Brundaban Bhanja, his four sons and some other members of the royal family, surrendered to the British authorities.[67] Then Nilambar Bhanja and his son Madhu Bhanja of the royal family were captured. Now crafty Dora Bissoi played a new trick. He stated to support the claim of Raghunath Sharana Bhanja to the Ghumsar throne. He was the adopted son of Dhananjaya

62. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 15, A Duff's 'Goomsur; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'
63. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 134), Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847; The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 17, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; The latewar there-The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
64. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, pp 41-42 First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.
65. Ganjam Manual, p. 149.
66. P. Mukherjee, op., cit., p. 194.
67. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II. p. 36, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.

Bhanja's uncle Gopinath Bhanja. But this trick did not succeed, Raghunath Sharma Bhanja was soon captured by the British and confined at Tekkali.[68]

Thereafter rebel leaders were captured one after another. Hatiram, the Khond Chief of Rogada, Butapali and Buguda was wounded in an encounter with the British force and captured. Then his fellow-rebels dispersed from Rogada, their head-quarters.[69] Subsequently, the other Khond leaders submitted to the British authorities. Some of them were also captured.

Thus the rebellion now came practically to an end. But Dora Bissoi, the ringleader, remained uncaught. He moved from place to place as a wanderer and his influence over the Khond Maliahs helped him. So the British authorities tried to reduce his influence over the Khonds.[70] Russell remarked, "Under any circumstances, whether the Zamindary be restored or retained, it will be requisite to hold military possession until Dora Bissoye is secured or becomes harmless from the decline of his power and the increase of our own."[71] The British authorities also desperately tried to learn about Dora Bissoi's whereabouts and movements.

The British force also made attacks on him several times but in vain. A Duff writes thus, "Dora Bisaye had many hair-breadth escapes. His temporary place of refuge was often invaded, but an hour or two after he had decamped-leaving his cooking vessels still warm with sundry other petty articles behind him."[72] Even his hide-outs in the hills of Ronaba, Surada and Chinna Kimedy were attacked. But he could manage to escape. Then for his sufety he left Ghumsar and moved to Sonepur. From Sonepur he proceeded to Patna and then to

68. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 2, Second Report on Goomsoor, March 3, 1837.

69. Ranjam Manual, p. 152.

70. The Calcutta Review, Vol V. IX, 1846, p. 19, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; The late war there-The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.

71. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, p. 55, First Report on Goomsoor, August 12, 1836.

72. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V, No. IX, 1846, p. 17, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; The late war there – The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.

Angul. Having received this information, Henry Ricketts, the Commissioner of Orissa, asked Somnath Singh, the Raja of Angul to hand over Dora Bissoi immediately to the British authorities. But Raja Somnath Singh wrote to Ricketts thus, "If I seize Dora Bissoi, what terms will be allowed him"? The reply he received was, "From your writing I know you have him in you fastness. His life shall be spared, if he is delivered to my officer by such a date; if not, the Cuttack force will march upon you".[73] This threat was effectual in making the Raja loyal.[74] Finally he handed over Dora Bissoi to the British authorities in October 1837. Subsequently Raja Somnath Singh received the stipulated reward of five thousand ruppees from the Government for apprehension of Dora Bissoi. Dora Bissoi was sent to Gooty near Madras where this valiant Khond Chief died as a state prisoner in 1846.

The other rebel leaders and insurgents were condemned to imprisonment, exile, or execution.[75] A large number of the rebel leaders were executed.[76] The nature of punishment and the number of rebels are as follows.[77]

Death sentence—40, Transportation for life—29, Confinement for life—3, Imprisonment for life—2, Confinement for 8 years—17, Imprisonment for 7 years—17, Imprisonment for 6 years—5, Imprisonment for 5 years—1.

Thereafter some new arrangements were made by the British Government in Ghumsar. In place of the former Chiefs, new Chiefs or Mallikas were appointed.[78] Sam Bissoi

73. *The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer, 1841* (Calcutta, 1841) Vol. II, p. 43
74. Angul Gazetteer, p. 20.
75. SRG (Bengal), No. III, Papers on the Settlement of Cuttack and on the State of the Tributary Mahals, p 45, Mills' Minute, January 23, 1847;
The Calcutta Review, Vol. V. No IX, 1846, pp. 18-19. A. Duff's 'Goomsur; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
76. Campbell's Narrative, p. 33.
77. SRG (Madras), Russell's Report, Vol. II, Third Report on Goomsoor, May 11, 1837, Appendix—A.
78. Ganjam Manual, p. 150.

of Hodzoghoro who had rendered the British considerable assistance was rewarded. He was invested with the office of Dora Bissoi or chief Bissoi to head all the Khond tribes of Ghumsar.[79] Besides, the British Government conferred on him, the additional honorary title of Bahadur Bakshi.[80] After the suppression of the rebellion, the regular troops were withdrawn from the hills. The tribes remained under the rule of the newly appointed chiefs.[81]

The salutary services rendered by George Russell were publicly acknowledged by the Government. He was applauded for the ability, energy and firmness to quell the rebellion. So when the Government established new cantonment in Ghumsar the place was rightly named after him as Russelkonda or Russell's Hill (modern Bhanjanagar).[82]

The two years' campaign of the British for the suppression of the rebellion was a pathetic tale.[83] The rebellious Khonds were shot down like wild beasts. and their villages were converted into heaps of ashes.[84] More than three-fourths of the villages in Ghumsar were destroyed and large areas were depopulated.[85]

Khond Rebellion under Chakra Bissoi

In the very year of the death of the illustrious Khond leader Dora Bissoi, another fearless, courageous and daring member of his family emerged to cause havocs for the British in the hill tracts of Orissa. His life and activities formed another sensational chapter in the history of modern Orissa. That leader was none else than Chakra Bissoi, the nephew of Dora Bissoi. His father, Ram Singh Bakshi, was killed in a skirmish with the British troops in 1837.[86] Chakra

79. Meriah Reports, p. 4, Cambell's Report, January 17, 1838.
80. The Calcutta Review, Vol. V No. IX, 1846, p. 19, A. Duff's 'Goomsur; The late war there—The Khonds or Hill Tribes'.
81. Campbell's Narrative, p. 34.
82. Ganjam Manual, p. 151.
83. Campbell's Narrative, p. 33
84. H.B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. 96.
85. Ganjam Manual, p. 151.
86. P. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 197.

Bissoi was a mere boy at the time. After this tragic incident he accompanied his uncle Dora Bissoi to Angul. There he received his 'military baptization and political indoctrination' under his uncle.[87] After the confinement of his uncle Dora Bissoi in Madras, Chakra began to nourish a desire to revive the Khond resistance against the British rule. He was in search of an opportunity and it came in 1846. Chakra Bissoi knew that the rebellious spirit of the Khonds had not died inspite of their suppression. He could also see the development of some fresh complications.[88] And it developed in the wake of the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, a deep-rooted custom of the Khond community, and the appointment of S.C. Macpherson as the Meriah Agent. Some of his injudicious and rash actions hurt the religious sentiments of the Khonds, and they persisted in celebrating the rite. Every time they were asked to stop it they would reply. "The village Deity had told us to do so, as otherwise our people would die".[89] Further, some excess committed by Macpherson in punishing the culprits of Meriah sacrifice, created a strong resentment among the Khonds. Chakra Bissoi utilised this situation, specially the prejudices of the Khonds.[90] He posed himself as the Champion of the Meriah.[91] So the Khonds rallied round him and he emerged as their new leader.

There was yet another factor for the fresh discontent of the Khonds against the British. Since the end of the Khond rebellion under Dora Bissoi, there had been no improvement in the economic condition of the Khonds. On the contrary there had been more and more economic exploitation of the Khond tracts. Added to this economic distress their liberties had been curtailed. Politically backward, these Khonds, as

87. Ganjam Manual, p. 186.
8 H.B. Rowney, op. cit., p. 96.
89. The Calcutta Review, Vol. VI, Nos. XI-XII, July-December 1846, p. 89. Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack and Various Official Documents.
90. Meriah Reports, p. 26, Campbell's Report, April 16, 1848; Ganjam Manual, p. 157.
91. Ganjam Memoir, p. 7.

has been remarked earlier, resented any encroachment on their liberty.[92] Chakra Bissoi who had the objective of restoring the Ghumsar Raj family to the throne of Ghumsar made use of this discontent of the Khonds.[93] Because he had known from his uncle the injustice and humiliation meted out to the Raja of Ghumsar and his Khond brothers during the previous Khond rebellion. He took a vow with a 'tika' or a blood-spot on his forehead to resume struggle against the British.[94] This was not something new for him. Resistance to British rule had been his family's tradition. He had not forgotten his illustrious uncle, Dora Bissoi's fight with the British in face of insurmountable difficulties. The great shock that he had received at his father's tragic death in an encounter with the British troops had not yet healed. So it was but natural for Chakra Bissoi to think of taking revenge for his father's death. He also wanted to revive the prestige of his family, which had been driven out of the Ghumsar Maliahs. All these factors prepared Chakra Bissoi to start a rebellion. He was waiting for a moment. Fortunately it came when Captain Macpherson arrested Bira Khonro, son of Nabaghana Khonro, the Khond leader of Baud-Khondmals, in connection with the Meriah sacrifice. This action enraged the Khonds against the British. In this hour Chakra Bissoi came to the front and enlisted the support of the Khonds to start a rebellion in Ghumsar.[95] For such an action he was assured of the help of the Khonds of other neighbouring feudatory States.

Captain Macpherson captured as many as 170 Meriah victims within a week in the month of February, 1846.[96] It was provocation enough for the Khonds to be rebellious. Chakra Bissoi assumed the leadership of this rebellion and

92. HEMO, Vol II, p I.
93. P Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 218.
94. OHCP, Berhampur Session, 1977, p. 191, L.N. Rout's 'Chakra Bisoyi, the rebel leader'
95. Bd Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 133), Bengal Government, F. Gouldsbury, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to Secretary, Government of Bengal, November 1, 1847, No. 1941.
96. SRG (India), No. V, p. 98.

organised secret councils. Under his leadership the rebellious Khonds assembled before Macpherson's camp at Bisipara on March 14, 1846 and demanded the restoration of the victims. Macpherson had to yield to their demand.[97] This emboldened the rebellious Khonds who attacked Macpherson's camp for the second time.[98] He could do nothing in counteracting them. So he had to return to his headquarters in the wake of the rainy season. But it was an insult never to be forgotten. So after the end of the rains, Macpherson with his troops marched to those areas in November 1846. On the way, Macpherson burnt down some Khond village in Baud area.[99] So Khonds of Baud joined with those of Ghumsar in the rebellion. At this critical situation the Supreme Government was alarmed and at once instructed the Madras authorities to send an experienced Officer to Ghumsar to deal with the situation carefully. He was asked to pacify the situation. The officer selected for the purpose was General Dyce. He somehow succeeded in quelling the disturbances.[100] Yet Chakra Bissoi like his uncle before him grew from strength to strength. With Chokapad Khandum Mutha of Ghumsar as the centre of the rebellion, he continued to resist the British with the aid of the Khonds.[101]

In the mean time John Campbell was appointed the Agent in place of Macpherson in April 1847.[102] He followed by and large a conciliatary policy towards the Khonds. Nabaghana Khonro, a valiant leader, was pardoned.[103] But Chakra Bissoi continued resistance against the British. The British Government could guess that the Raja of Angul, Somnath

97. Meriah Reports, pp. 24-25.
98. Campbell's Narrative, p. 89.
99. Macpherson's Memorials, p 255
100. Campbell's Narrative, p. 91.
101. Ganjam Memoir, p. 26.
102. SRG (India), No. V. p. 102.
103. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 132), Bengal Government, F. Gouldsbury, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to Brigadier General Dyce, April 7, 1847, No. 654.

Singh, was encouraging Chakra Bissoi.[104] So the British authorities marched their army to Angul in 1848. Raja Somnath Singh was deposed and Angul was brought under the direct administration of the British Government.[105]

Even then Chakra Bissoi's power lay untarnished. Adopting guerrilla warfare, he went on harassing the British so much so that the then Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, became worried. In April he wrote to the President of the Board of Control thus, "Chokra Bissye hunted from hill to valley, had now taken refuge in the wild tracts behind Boad. At present, he is inaccessible, but we shall catch him some day".[106] Since then vigorous efforts were being made to capture Chakra Bissoi. A reward of three thousand rupees was declared by the Government of Bengal for the purpose.[107]

Meanwhile the British Government came to know that Chakra Bissoi was then hiding in the Sonepur State with the support of its Rani. When questioned, she answered that she had absolutely no knowledge about Chakra Bissoi.[108] But the British Government took no cognisance of her statement. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, warned her and the Raja of Baud to refrain from giving asylum or any sort of help to Chakra Bissoi.[109] Simultaneously John Gampbell started

104. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 133), Bengal Government, F. Gouldsbury, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, September 11, 1847;
William F.B Laurie, *Orissa, A Garden of Superstition and idolatry* (London, 1850), pp. 131-141;
H.K. Mahtab (Ed.), *Odissa Bidrohara Samkhipta Itihasa*, p. 23.

105. *Imperial Gazetter of India*, Provincial Series, Bengal, Vol. II, p 281.

106. Quoted in IHCP, Gauhati Session, Governor General Lord Dalhousie to President, Board of Control, April 8, 1848.

107. Bd. Procd. Pol. (BSA), Bengal Government, Secretary, Political Department, Government of Bengal to Agent, South West Frontier Agency, August 29, 1848;
William F.B. Laurie, op. cit., p. 141.

108. Bd. Procd, Pol (BSA), Bengal Government, Agent, South West Frontier to Secretary Political Department, Government of Bengal, September 19, 1848.

109 P. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 211.

negotiations with the Rani of Sonepur to persuade Chakra Bissoi to surrender but it was of no avail. Chakra Bissoi still remained at large. Yet he took a pause.

For four succeeding years, the British Government did not find any refractory activity of Chakra Bissoi. So the Government refrained itself from disturbing him.

In the mean time a rift among the Khonds came to the surface. Some elderly Khonds did not accept the leadership of Chakra Bissoi. An opportunist to the core, John Campbell won over those Khonds to his side.[110] In this work Sam Bissoi worked as a go between. He brought about the unconditional surrender of many Khond Chiefs.[111] However, the younger Khonds continued to support Chakra Bissoi.

In May 1854, the British came to know about the revival of rebellious activities of Chakra Bissoi. A village named Tulasinghee in Ghumsar Maliahs was attacked and plundered by some Khonds. The Magistrate of Ganjam suspected that behind it the hand of Chakra Bissoi might be there. So he wrote to E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals, to apprehend him and his other accomplices who had taken shelter in the Khondmals. In his reply Samuells wrote to the Magistrate that to his knowledge ever since the occupation of Angul, Chakra Bissoi had been living in the Khond mals, in the villages Damasingha and Kallabaree under protection of Bira Khonro. He wrote this under the impression the that Chakra Bissoi had been falsely implicated in the incident in question for his past record.[112] Continuing his report he said that the crime was probably committed by some famine-stricken people of Ghumsar and the name of Chakra Bissoi had been implanted simply because all hopes of discovering

110 Campbell's Narrative, pp. 105-106, 110;
P.K. Mishra, *Political unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century* (Calcutta, 1983), p. 82.

111. Campbell's Narrative, pp. 92-93.

112. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 165), Bangal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendent, of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, Political Department, June 30, 1854, No. 37.

offenders had failed.[113] Reiterating further he wrote "Chakra Bissoyee has gone to show that he was living quietly in Biro Kohnooro's country and was principally desirous of escaping notice".[114] Samuells further reported the inability of the Raja of Baud to control outrages of Chakra Bissoi and his adherents.[115] In this connection the Superinteudent of the Tributary Mahals in his proclamation of the 15th February, 1855 mentioned thus, "Whereas the Kondhs have ceased for some years to be the subject of Baud Raja and the Raja himself states that he has no pcwer in the country" So the Bengal Government took his report seriously and ordered for the annexation of Khondmals lying under the control of the Raja of Baud. E.A. Samuells, as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals took over its administration.[116] He appointed Dinabandhu Patnaik as the Tahasildar to remain in charge of that territory.

After this annexation, Chakra Bissoi had to leave the Khondmals. He came to Ghumsar Maliahs. Here he supported the case of a boy named Pitambar Bhanja, known as 'Raja Pilla', whom the Khonds would accept as the Raja of Ghumsar.[117] But this young pretender to the throne of Ghumsar was soon tired of jungle life and preferred to surrender.[118] He accepted a Government pension to live in peace.[119] This decision of Pitambar Bhanja's shocked Chakra

113 Bd Procd, Gev, (OSA Acsn 165), Bengal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, Political Department, June 30, 1854, No. 37.

114 Ibid.

115. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 165), Bengal Government, E A. Samuells Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to Magistrate of Ganjam, June, 26, 1854, No 36

116 Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 136; Angul Gazetteer, pp 31-32.

117. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, October 21, 1855, No. 122.

118. Ibid.

119 Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government E.A. Samuells. Commissioner, to Chief Secretary to Government of Fort St. George, June 6, 1856, No. 32.

Bissoi. He had no other alternative than to move to Baud.

Having learnt of this, Samuells, the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, at once sent orders to the Raja of Baud to expel Chakra Bissoi from his territory He also threatened that he Raja would be deposed if he failed to accomplish this. So the Raja of Baud could not ignore this order. With great difficulty he expelled Chakra Bissoi from his State.[120]

Chakra Bissoi then took shelter on the bank of the Tel river. Alternatively he lived in Madanpur, a zamindary in Kalahandi State and Jarasingha, a dependency of the Patna State.[121] While the former was under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Nagpur, the latter was under that of the Commissioner of Chotanagpur. Samuells made requests to both the Commissioners to order the zamindar of Madanpur and the Raja of Patna to deliver the rebel chief.[122] Of them the zamindar of Madanpur expressed his ignorance of Chakra Bissoi's presence in his State.[123] The Superintendent of Tributary Mahals rightly disbelieved his averment, because soon his presence became evident because of an incident which was as follows.

In the mean time A.C. MacNeill succeeded John Campbell as the Meriah Agent. He arrested Rendo Maji, the leader of Borikiya Khonds of Kalahandi in connection with Meriah sacrifice.[124] He along with son Palaso Maji were imprisoned

120. HFMO, Vol. II, pp. 1-2.
121. Bd. Procd, Rev (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, February 1, 1856, No. 189.
122. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner, Nagpur, January 22, 1856, No. 181;
Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner, Chotanagpur, January 22, 1856, No. 182.
123. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, February 1, 1856, No. 189.
124. N.R. Patnaik. *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa* p. 225.

for two years with a view to warning the Khonds not to involve themselves in Meriah sacrifices.[125] But this humiliation to their leader Rendo Maji could not be swallowed by the Borikiya Khonds. They attacked the camp of MacNeill at Orladhoni in Madanpur zamindari on the 10th December 1855. Their attack was of course repulsed by the British troops with some casualties on both sides.[126] Then the Kuttia Khonds joined with the Borikiya Khonds and together they made a second attack on MacNeill's camp.[127] It was due to the wisdom and help of Dinabandhu Patnaik, the Tahsildar, that MacNeill could escape to Russelkonda.[128] But Chakra Bissoi was unnecessarily accused of uniting the two rival Khond tribes against the British authority and instigating the attacks on MacNeill's camp. Consequently, an enquity was ordered. Simultaneously the conduct of the zamindar of Madanpur was to be inquired into. G.F Cockburn who succeeded Samuells as the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in 1856 was appointed for the purpose. On inquiry the zamindar of Madanpur was accused of dereliction of his duty in not reporting the presence of Chakra Bissoi and the other rebels to the British authority. So the zamindar of Madanpur was removed from the management of his zamindary He was detained under the surveillance of his chief, the Raja of Kalahandi.[129]

Vigorous efforts were then made by the British Government to capture Chakra Bissoi. Information reached them that he

125. Bd. Procd. Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1784G), Madras Government, Inspector General of Madras Police, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George, January 24, 1866.
126. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary to Government of Bengal, December 2 , 1855, No. 156.
127. Ganjam Manual, p. 156.
128. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 170). Bengal Government. G.F. Cockburn, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, December 24, 1855, No 156.
129. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, G.F. Cockburn, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, January 15, 1857, No. 235.

had moved to the Patna State and taken shelter under Dharam Singh Mandhata, the Maji (headman) of Athagaon. So R.M. Macdonald, Assistant to the Agent in the hill tracts of Orissa, sent some troops under Dinabandhu Patnaik to capture Chakra Bissoi.[130] But the wily rebel Chief escaped into the jungles. Only his principal follower Bhitar Sardar Bhori along with other adherents were captured.[131] Dharam Singh Mandhata was also taken captive for affording assistance openly to the rebels.[132]

Chakra Bissoi could not sit at rest. Having learnt of the Savaras of Parlakhemundi rising against the British under their leader Dandasena of Gaiba in May 1856, Chakra Bissoi moved to Parlakhemundi zemindary.[133] Under his instigation both Savaras and Khonds set fire to and plundered such villages as did not support their rebellious action. So the British troops under Captain Wilson moved there and ruthlessly suppressed them. Dandasena was caught and hanged.[134]

Surprisingly Chakra Bissoi escaped from Parlakhemundi and appeared on the banks of the Tel river again near the border of Patna State. So the Commissioner of Orissa. G F. Cockburn wrote to instruct the Raja of Patna for his cooperation in the seizure of Chakra Bissoi.[135]

Thereafter Chakra Bissoi took shelter in the forest of Khondmals. It was reported to G.F. Cockburn that he was

130. Bd Procd. Rev (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendeut of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner, Chota Nagpur March 4, 1856, No. 211.
131. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Ascn 170), Bengal Government, E.A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner of Chotanagpur, March 24, 1856, No 233.
132. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, E A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner, Chotanagpur, March 24, 1856, No. 233.
133. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government. E A. Samuells, Superintendent of Tributrry Mahals, to Secretary, Government of Bengal, May 13, 1856, No. 12.
134. HFMO, Vol. II, p. 5.
135. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, G F. Cockburn, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, to Commissioner of Chotanagpur October 15, 1856, No. 130.

being helped by the Raja and some Khond Chiefs of Baud. Cockburn summoned all of them and asked for their co-operation in apprehending Chakra Bissoi.[136]

After October 1856, nothing was known about the great Khond leader Chakra Bissoi.[137] Mysteriously, he disappeared into the oblivion of history sometime before the beginning of the Great Revolt of 1857.* We can depend on the statement of G.F. Cockburn who has thus recorded, "It is nearly certain that Chokra Bissye has entirely left his former haunts where he could be no longer safe and no one appears to have the least idea as to where he has gone. My own impression is that he has abandoned this part of the country and sought refuge in the more central parts of India, where he is comparatively unknown and without influence".[138] After a few months he further wrote, "Chakra Bissoi has not been heard of for about 18 months past and his adherents are in prison or scattered so that the peace of the Khond country, formerly so disturbed has during the trying crisis in the history of India enjoyed a remarkable degree of quiet which I had scarce ventured to hope for".[139]

However it was to improve the situation in hill tracts of Orissa that hereafter the Government took all necessary steps. Importance was attached to the task of checking the oppres-

136. Bd. Procd. Rev (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, G F. Cockburn, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to W. King, Magistrate, Ganjam October 16, No. 136.

137. HFMO, Vol II, p 6.

* Of course one scholar S. Thiady has mentioned that Chakra Bissoi was alive during the Great Revolt of 1857 and he continued to fight against the British till 1874. Dinabandhu Patnaik was able to control the rebellion of Chakra Bissoi (S. Thiady, *Phulbani—The Khond land*, p. 23). But this report of Thiady does not appear to be correct. Not a single contemporary record finds mention of the continuity of the struggle of Chakra Bissoi after 1856.

138. Bd. Procd. Rev. (OSA Acsn 170), Bengal Government, G.F. Cockburn, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to Secretary Government of Bengal, March 2, 1857, No. 307.

139. Bd. Procd, Rev. (OSA Acsn 172), Bengal Government, G F. Cockburn, Superintendent of Tributary Mahals to Secretary, Government of Bengal, June 9, 1858, No. 25.

sion of the local officers or their subordinates, Side by side some constructive measures for a lasting peace were also taken.

Thus it is to be observed that the rebellion of the Khonds under the leadership of Chakra Bissoi received no doubt a jerk with the disappearance of their leader. But the way he fought against the British and inspired the Khond insurgents and led them to the resistance movement forms a landmark in the tribal history of India. He richly deserves to be ranked with Bakshi Jagabhandhu and Surendra Sai, two great patriots of Orissa. In fact Chakra Bissoi has carved out a permanent niche in the history of Orissa as a symbol of extraordinary bravery and patriotism.

Khond Rebellions of 1860 and 1862

Chakra Bissoi's rebellion was not the end of the Khond resistance in the nineteenth century. In 1860, another Khond rebellion took place in Baud. It is said that behind it lay the oppressions of the Raja of Baud. But the Raja ascribed a different reason to the rebellion. The Khonds of Baud were alleged to have been instigated by the Raja of Sonepur who had earlier claimed his possession over some Khond villages of Baud. He informed the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in this light. Accepting the report of the Raja of Baud, an armed force was sent from Cuttack to put down the rebellion. The Khond-leader Narayan Mallika and other insurgent Khonds along with their Sardar surrendered after a faint resistance.[140] Thus, the Khond rebellion of 1860 in Baud was suppressed at ease.

Two years later in June 1862, the Khonds of the Khondmals rose in rebellion against the oppressive authority of the Tahsildar. Troops were sent under Lieutenant Dolmage to Khondmals to quell their rebellion. He succeeded in restoring tranquility in those areas.[141]

40. P. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 219.
41. P. Mukherjee, op. cit., p. 219.

Khond Rebellion of 1863

In 1863, another Khond rebellion was afoot in the infanticidal tracts of Orissa. That was because of the Government's severe prosecution and conviction of the culprits in abetting infanticide.

The Khonds expressed resentment in two infanticidal cases which took place openly in October 1863 in Kirikebadi Mutha. In one case, the father placed his new born male child in the funeral pyre of the wife who had died on child-birth. In the other case the parents killed their first child as it happened to be a female.[142] However the Digaloo, the paid village watcher of Komerabadi, informed the Head Constable stationed at Deegi about the two incidents on November 2, 1863. Then the Deputy Head Constable along with three constables proceeded to the place and arrested the culprits on the 6th November.[143] While the constables were on their way back along with the culprits and the witnesses, the Patros of Kirikebadi, Kallingabadi and some other muthas, accompanied by other armed Khonds, reached there and did not allow them to proceed. Throwing abusive language, the Khonds showed their determination to take up arms against the Government.[144] They expressed themselves thus, "Infanticide is an acknowledged custom among ourselves'. Why should we allow the Cirkar (Government) to come in and drive off our people like animals ?"[145] This was an unexpected incident indeed. The sole mission of the Khonds was to expel the Hill Constabulary from their tracts and thus put an end

142. Bd. Procd, Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, December 16, 1863.

143. Bd. Procd. Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, R A, Stuart, Superintendent of Police, to W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, December 15, 1863.

144. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA (LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes, Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, to A J Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, December 9, 1863.

145. Bd. Procd. Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, R.A. Stuart, Superintendent of Police, to W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, December 15, 1863.

to the British control over them, so that they could revive their social customs and beliefs.[146] The constables were obliged to hand over the offenders to the rebellious Khonds. However, they reported the matter to the Police station and subsequently to the Sub-Magistrate. The Magistrate wasted no time. A native Inspector, Chetan Singh, and twenty five constables were sent to Deegi to recapture the prisoners. They proceeded through Gajalabadi by descending Korada Ghat. Thus they proceeded through an indirect route considering the direct route through Kirikebadi and Daringabadi dangerous. This route was not safe either, as the passes were then closed by the Khonds. Chetan Singh and his party were attacked by the Khonds during the night at Gorigam. But they resisted and in confrontation with the Khonds three of them died. Of them one was the son of the Daringabadi Patro, who headed the insurgents. However, Chetan Singh then sent Dasu Mohanty to the Khonds for mediation'[147] But the Khonds threatened him with death if he interfered in the matter. So Dasu Mohanty returned and joined the inspector. This is how a peace-mission failed. The Khonds thus grew bold, and attacked and burnt down the outpost of Badaguda.[148]

That was not the end of the outbrust of the Khonds.

On November 22, 1863, the Police Station at Bomangam, situated thirty miles south of Deogi, was attacked by a group of Khonds belonging to eleven neighbouring muthas. But the Paiks of the Tat Raja of Guddapur gave assistance to the Police men. So the Khonds dispersed from that place.[149]

146. OHCP, XIV Session, 1988, p. 73, N R. Patnaik's 'A rising in the Khond Tracts of Orissa.'

147. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes. Agent to the Governor in Ganjam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, December 16, 1863.

148. Bd. Procd Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, December 9, 1863.

149. Bd. Procd. Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G) Madras Government, R.A. Stuart Superintendent of Police, to W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, December 15, 1863.

For further reinforcement, the Assistant Superintendent of Police, Lieutenant Lys, then joined Inspector Chetan Singh with his party at Gajalabadi. On the 24th November they tried to reach the places of the Khond rising but returned to Deegi as the routes were impassable.[150] On 29th Lieutenant Lys proceeded to Daringabadi. He met the Patros for a peaceful solution. But it ended in vain. The Khonds then assembled in large numbers with their usual war dress. Having heard of this situation, Captain R.A. Stuart, the Superintendent of Police, marched from Russelkonda on the 28th to join Lieutenant Lys. On the way near Tarabadi, he was attacked by the insurgent Khonds on the 30th. In this encounter two insurgents were shot dead. Their village was also destroyed.[151] Then the Khonds dispersed. Meanwhile Captain Stuart joined the party of Lieutenant Lys on the 1st December at Daringabadi. Soon thereafter they attacked the Khonds and killed fourteen of them. When the Khonds who were unruly, did not surrender and showed every sign of resistance, Captain Stuart burnt down their villages located at Tarabadi, Kopubadi and Daringabadi.[152] In this encounter, some more of the Khonds died and a few were wounded.

The situation thereafter became tense. So more reinforcement was needed to quell the insurgents.[153]

On the 5th December Captain Stuart accompanied by two Inspectors named Bond and Glasson along with the Sub-Magistrate Dervesh Ali, proceeded to Komerabadi, where the rebellion was in its most violent form. Three different parties, each headed by an officer, were sent in three directions. While Bond and his men succeeded in destroying the property of

150. Bd. Procd, Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief, Secretary to Madras Government, December 16, 1863.
151. Bd. Procd. Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, R.A. Stuart, Snperintendent of Police, to W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, December 15, 1863.
152. Bd. Procd. Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, R.A. Stuart, Superintendent of Police, to Captain R. Marshall, Junior Assistant Agent, December 2, 1863 and December 6, 1863.
153. N R Patnaik, *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa*, p. 272.

the Khonds, they failed to meet any one of the insurgents. Glasson and his men faced a group of insurgents, but they fled leaving their arms and provisions behind them. The third party headed by Captain Stuart with Dervesh Ali as the second in command made a surprise attack on about one hundred Khonds while they were cooking. Two of them were killed. The others dispersed leaving their grains and arms there. Then two of their villages, namely Bomerabadi and Komerabadi, were destroyed and their properties includ-ing cattle were seized. While Captain Stuart was in the village Adepangi situated below the Ghats, the inhabitants approached him requesting him to spare the remaining hamlets of the village, so that they would help in securing the leaders of the insurgent Khonds. Captain Stuart agreed. Then three Khond leaders, namely Sambi Patro, Sambee Patro and Robeia Patro were brought before him with the help of local Digaloos. They were made to induce the Khonds to return to their respective houses and remain faithful to the British Government. Captain Stuart thereafter proclaimed that the land of the rebel villages had already been confiscated and such lands would be restored only when the Khonds would abide by the conditions laid down by the Government. Thereafter the Khond Chiefs waited to meet Captain Stuart and pay their allegiance. Three of them came from Sonapur Mutha and a few from the eleven villages of Chinna Kimedy tracts. But the troublesome Khonds belonging to Hatimunda and Tumenangayah did not turn up. So proceeding to these two villages on 10th December, Lieutenant Lys disarmed the inhabitants. He further captured 300 head of cattle, 1200 matchlocks, bows, arrows and battle axes from the rebellious Khonds.[154]

Thus, in almost two weeks, the rebellious Khonds were put down. Many of their leaders were arrested.[155] Law and

154. Bd. Procd, Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, R A. Stuart, Superintendent of Police, to W. Robinson, Inspector General of Madras Police, December 15, 1863.

155. Bd. Procd Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam, to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government, December 12, 1863.

order was thus restored in the infanticidal tracts. Thereafter some preventive measures were adopted.[156] The Police Stations, in these infanticidal tracts were strengthened further. New Police stations were established. New roads were opened These muthas and villages were kept for the time being under an Oriya Patro or petty chief nominated by the Government.[157]

Thus a Khond rebellion taking place in the infanticidal tracts was suppressed by sheer application of force by the British Government.

Khond Rebellion of 1865

Another rebellion of the Khonds took place in the Ganjam Maliahs in November 1865. The circumstances leading to such an uprising were as follows. In June 1865, the Patro of Subarnagiri had contracted with Captain Stuart, the Superintendent of Police of Ganjam District, that he along with other Patros in the hills would clear the jungle and open an ordinary village road through the Mahasingi Mutha, which bordered the Kuttia country on the west. This Patro of Subarnagiri received an advance of money for this purpose. So he proceeded to construct the road with the help of his subordinate Patros and the villagers of the neighbouring Oriya and Khond villages. Some time later, the Patro of Subarnagiri remained absent from the spot. So the work caused annoyance to Khonds especially the Kuttia Khonds. So they left their work. They also murdered two Digaloos or village watchers. This took place on the 13th November 1865 at Bollampallam, a Kuttia village near Gumagur. And this murder gave a signal to Kuttia Khonds for a general rising.[158]

To start with, the Kuttia Khonds of the muthas of

156. OHCP, XIV Session, 1988, p. 75, N.R. Patnaik's 'A rising in the Khond Tracts of Orissa'.

157. Bd Proed, Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, G.S. Forbes, Agent to Governor in Ganjam to A.J. Arbuthnot, Chief Secretary to Madras Government. December, 16, 1863.

158. Ganjam Manual, p. 158.

Subarnagiri, Mahasingi and Kalahandi attempted to expel the Oriyas from their country. They burnt the Oriya villages, and murdered the Oriya and Pana inhabitants indiscriminately-men, women, and children, whoever fell into their hands. The rebellious Khonds also plundered their property.[159]

Referring to such an incident Captain R.C.A.Marshall; Junior Assistant Agent, reported

> "On the 12th December 1865, instead of going on to Toomeribund, as In had intended, I sent out a friendly Khond, Kerendee Majee, to a village called Ballagoodah, about a coss (2 miles) off, to call the Khonds to come, that I might speak to them. They sent word they would come, and true enough they did at half past three, but not in the friendly manner I expected; for at that time without any warning, I saw the village of Baurighur of fire (it is quite close to the jungle), and then heard the Khond war-cry. My camp was then attacked on three sides by all the dis-affected Khonds from Poossangiah down to Toomeribund, about 800 in number. I called on them to lay down their arms, but as they would not, and instead fired at us with arrows and a matchlock, I ordered the men to fire. One Khond was killed, and three were wounded, and the Khonds retreated."[160]

On 20th December, the Khonds of Berumolikia and Sadakia, about 300 in number, attacked the Sub-Magistrate at Toomeribund. So he repulsed them with the help of the Paiks and a few constables.[161]

159. Ganjam Manual, p. 158.
160. Bd. Procd. Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 1343G), Madras Government, R.C.A. Marshall, Junior Assistant Agent, Russelkonda, to Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam, Chatrapur, March 10, 1866, No. 33.
161. Ganjam Manual, p. 158;
Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1343G), Madras Government, R.C.A. Marshall, Junior Assistant Agent, Russelkonda, to Agent to Governor of Fort St. George in Ganjam Chatrapur, March 10, 1866, No. 33.

Meanwhile, the Oriyas tried to repulse the rising of the Khonds. On their demand reinforcements of Police arrived from the plains, and Pakala Suriya Narayan Patro, the Sub-Magistrate of Udayagiri of Ghumsar, at once took steps to protect the inhabitants. Then Captain Stuart, the Superintendent of Police, and Mr.Goodrich, the Assistant Magistrate, arrived at the spot and quelled the disturbances. By the end of 1865 the rebellion was over.[162]

Then the British authorities took steps to pacify the Kuttia Khonds. This was accomplished by a competent officer, Dervish Ali, the Sub-Magistrate of Deegi through his wisdom and courage. He was sent to Kuttia country in January 1866 with thirty men and an Inspector, Roshun Ali. The object of this expedition was to open communications with the Kuttia Khonds, and bring about the formal if not full submission of every village in their country. And within a month this could be achieved.[163] Dervish Ali was in fact instrumental in procuring the complete submission of those Kuttia Khonds. So he was rewarded with a gratuity of nine hundred rupees (six month's pay), Similarly Sub-Magistrate Suriya Narayan Patro was also rewarded with the same amount in recognition of his services Besides, two thousand rupees were also granted as rewards to the Oriya Patros and the Majis who had rendered aid to the British authorities for the suppression of this insurrection [164]

Fortunately this rebellion in the Khond tracts was confined to an isolated region. Otherwise the consequences would have been more serious. However, it had some beneficial the effect over the Khonds at least in one sense. It could draw the attention of the Government to the necessity of stationing British Officers in the heart of the hill tracts, so that the rude inhabitants could be saved from the oppression of their

162. Ganjam Manual, p. 158.

163. Bd. Procd, Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1358G), Madras Government, Agent to Governor of Fort St George in Ganjam, to Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St George, March 12, 1866, No. 33.

164. Bd. Procd Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1358G), Madras Government, G O., March 26, 1866, No. 439.

alien neighbours, the Oriya Patros, and the Sundis or liquor sellers.[165] Accordingly the Government stationed two British officers who would reside in the hill tracts for a considerable time.[166]

Khond Rebellion in Kalahandi (1882)

In 1882, another armed rebellion of the Khonds occurred in the Kalahandi State.

Kalahandi State was then under the Court of Wards,[167] because the Raja, with the consent of the Government, did not allow his own son to succeed him. He adopted a child before his death as his successor. But the Khonds of Kalahandi refused to acknowledge this child ruler as their sentiments were hurt when the new Raja of Kalahandi was installed without their consent.[168]

But the main reason for this rebellion was agrarian discontent.[169] The Raja of Kalahandi had encouraged the settlement of the Kulta caste in his State who were excellent cultivators.[170] But they were of a somewhat timid character with frugal habits. On the other hand, the Khonds were a war-like race who followed the primitive and desultory method of agriculture. So inspite of their hard labour the production they achieved was low. So the Kultas naturally stood in a better position than the Khonds. It was easy, moreover, to realise rents from the Kultas.[171] For all these reasons a large number of Kultas had been encouraged by the Raja of Kala-

165. Ganjam Manual, p. 159.
166. Pd. Procd. Jud (OSA LR 1360G), Madras Government, July 6, 1866, Despatch from Secretary of State for India to the Government in Council, Fort St. George, India Office, London May 31, 1866, No. 9.
167. Utkal Dipika, June 10, 1882.
168. R V Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, Vol. III, p. 481;
P. Mukherjee, op cit., p., 413.
169. Utkal Dipika, June 10, 1882.
170. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 480.
171. Andrew H.L. Fraser, *Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots*, p, 137.

bandi in the past to come and settle in the State.[172] In this situation the Khonds had to depend on the Kultas for food and seed-grain in the form of loans, as they possessed the best lands in the Khond dominated villages.[173] Gradually they started to oust the Khonds from their villages.[174] This state of affairs led to agrarian hatred and jealousy of the Khonds against the Kultas.[175] Proceeding further, the Khonds complained to the political Officer, who was sent to look into the discontent of the Khonds who had been degraded by the Kultas from the position of lords of the soil to that of servants. They further told the Political Officer that if they did not get back their land, the Government should drive them out of the country or exterminate them. They were not prepared to live together with Kultas who were like tigers whereas they were like goats.[176] This is how the dispair and rage of the Khonds against the Kultas culminated in a serious rebellion in 1882.[177]

Towards the middle of May 1882, the Khonds rose in rebellion. At a meeting held at the village of Balwarpur, it was decided that all the Kultas should be swept away of the country and killed.[178] Then, as decided, the signal for the outbreak was given by passing a knotted string from village to village. There were two more signals, namely a bent arrow and a branch of a Mahua tree. In the meeting of the Khond leaders an axe was thrown to the ground and each of them grasping it swore in turn to join the rebellion with utmost steadiness. When they requested the Kuttia Khonds to join the rising, the Kuttias replied that if plunder was the only object they would not join, but if the Kultas were to be murdered, then they would join.[179] Altogether two lakhs of Khonds joined

172. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 63.
173. R V Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 480.
174. Feudatory States Gazetteers, p. 63;
R.V Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III. p. 480.
175. Andrew H.L. Fraser, op. cit., p. 138.
176. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 480.
177. Andrew H.L. Fraser, op. cit., p. 137.
178. E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 412.
179. R.V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 480.

the rebellion.[180] Atrocities of a horrible nature were committed. At Asurgarh, four headless corpses of the Kultas were found. On inquiry the widows of the deceased informed that their husbands had been murdered, the murder having been committed in a most brutal way. They were dragged out of their houses and killed before their women and children. All the victims were scalped while alive. One arm and one leg of another victim were cut off before he was scalped. The victim's death was announced by shouting and dancing. To a tamarind tree near the village of Billat was affixed a scalped head of a Kulta, hacked in a most horrible way.[181] Some of the murdered Kultas anointed with turmeric were offered to temples, the Khonds calling them their goats. In one case a Kulta was believed to have been made a Meriah sacrifice to the Earth Goddess. The Khonds appeared before the police, who were protecting a body of rufugees at the village of Noriya, with the hair and scalps of their murdered victims being tied to their bows.[182] In this way some hundreds of Kultas* were brutally murdered by the Khonds.[183] Yet nowhere was any Kulta woman outraged. Of course they were threatened with death if they did not deliver their buried treasure. In fact, one woman was made to dig out a thousand rupees.[184]

Fortunately for the Kultas and the British Government, the rebellion was confined to Kalahandi State alone. The invitation offered to other Khonds with head, fingers, hair, etc. of an early victim, was not accepted in other districts.[185]

180. Utkal Dipika, June 10, 1882.
181. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 412.
182. R V. Russell and R.B. Hira Lal op. cit., Vol. III, p. 480.
* While Cobden-Ramsay has mentioned the number of victims as more than 80 (L E B. Codden-Ramsay, *Bengal Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa*. p. 63), Utkal Dipika has showed it as more than 400 (Utkal Dipika, June 10, 1882).
183. R C.S Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput*, p. 36.
184. E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 412.
185. R C.S. Bell, op. cit., p. 36;
E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. III, p 411.

On 17th May, Frederick Berry, the Commissioner and Superintendent of the State, received all the news about this Khond rebellion. He was then at Rampur.[186] However he took immediate steps to quell the rebellion. The news of the rebellion was also immediately conveyed to H.G. Prendergast, Assistant Superintendent of Police, Vizagapatam by a Domb disguised as a 'Fakir'. He carried the report concealed in his languti (loin cloth). For this daring work he was rewarded with a silver bangle.[187] At the instance of these British officers soldiers were sent from Rajpur, Ganjam and Sambalpur to supress the rebellion.[188] Police force from Cuttack and Jeypore also reached Kalahandi. They were ordered to fire on the mob, if required. In fact one constable from Cuttack single-handedly killed nineteen insurgents.[189] This was no doubt a proof of excess committed by the police for the suppression af the rebellion. The Political officer Frederick Berry, hanged seven of the Khond ringleaders. Side by side he effected a settlement of their grievances.[190] The police force who had come from outside remained in Kalahandi for a few more months till the complete pacification of the situation.[191] For rendering excellent service in the Khond rebellion in Kalahandi, the police force along with H.G. Prendergast, Assistant District Superintendent of Police, Vizagapatam were amply rewarded by the British Government.[192]

Thus a Khond rebellion arising out of agrarian discontent was successfully quelled by the British Government. Peace was also restored in the State.

Throughout the nineteenth century the Khonds reacted violently when their independence was attacked, their religious

186. Utkal Dipika, June 10, 1882.
187. E. Thurston, op cit., Vol. III, pp. 411-412.
188. HFMO, Vol II, p 107.
189. Utkal Dipika, June 10, 1882
190 R V. Russell and R B Hira Lal, op. cit , Vol III, p. 481.
191. Utkal Dipika, July 1, 1882.
192. Bd Procd. Jud. (OSA LR Acsn 2029G), Madras Government, L K Laurie, Officiatinng Assistant Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to Chief Secretary to Government, Nagpur, May 30, 1883, No. 2272-119.

beliefs were scoffed at, their customs, traditions and manners, civic rights, judicial systems, standards of ettiquette and prestige and code of honour were brushed aside and age-old conventions violated, insulted and ignored.

Thus it is to be observed that the rebellions of the Khonds were more or less anti-British in nature except the Kalahandi rebellion which was against the Kultas In all these rebellions of the nineteenth century the majority of the Khond populations of Ghumsar, Baud, Daspalla, Angul, Chinna Kimedy, Kalahandi and Patna actively participated. Not only the Khonds, but also the Rajas or zamindars and also some other tribals, participated in this rebellion against British rule. The Ghumsar rebellion originated from the issue of realisation of tribute and the imposition of British supremacy in the State's administration. Further, the Khonds considered the suppression of Meriah sacrifice as a naked attack of their socio-religious life. So they rose against the foreign rule. However the way the Khonds fought against the British under their celebrated leaders Dora Bissoi and Chakra Bissoi has remained a memorable chapter in the history of the freedom struggle in Orissa.

Although other rebellions were minor, yet those were of a far-reaching importance. All those changed the nature of the British administration in the hill tracts of Orissa. The British administrators hereafter tried to understand the problems of the Khonds and other tribal communities, with the sesult that the socio economic condition of the Khonds underwent considerable improvements. Thus inspite of the failures of all such Khond rebellions, the aftermath was undoubtedly beneficial for the tribal population.

Conclusion

The hilly and jungle regions stretching almost from Maharashtra to Orissa in India was the home of many tribes either of Dravidian or pre-Dravidian origin. And among those, the most interesting aboriginal tribe was the Khond. inhabiting the Tributary States of Orissa and the Ganjam district in the Madras Presidency. These areas were mostly wild and mountainous, composed of a confused succession of ranges of hills covered with dense forests When wave after wave of the Aryan conqest swept over the plains, these Khonds continued to live in these inaccessible hills and jungles under a insalubrious climate; maintaining their independence, and preserving their indigenous language, animistic religion and tribal customs. Living in this primitive condition for centuries and keeping themselves in isolation, the Khonds were unaware of the rapid changes taking place in other areas, particularly of the plains, in the social and political life of the people.

The origin of the Khonds is mysterious. The word 'Khond' has been derived from Telugu word 'Konda', meaning a hill. According to some scholars these Khonds, constituting one of the numerous remnants of the primitive population of India, were the original settlers of their areas. Yet a few other scholars opine that they had migrated either from Southern India or Central India or from the Orissan Delta.

The Khond tribe had no uniformity in its structure or habit. They were known by different names after their place of habitation and life-style. Though the Khonds traditionally had thirty-two exogamous septs called Gochis, subsequently, the number had increased to about sixty. Each sept was

divided into sub-septs who had derived their names from their totems.

The Khonds were well-built, with a good height and appearance, though the Khond women were less attractive than the men. Yet as a rule, the Khonds were active, wiry and agile. They were simple, well-meaning, faithful, generous, polite and hospitable. They were also known for their remarkable fidelity and valour. But towards the end of the nineteenth century the character of the Khonds showed signs of degeneration and that was probably due to their gradual intercourse with the people of the plains.

The early history of the Khonds is still shrouded in mystery. Nothing can be stated with certainty about their history till the Bhanja rule of the ninth century in Orissa. It was at that time that the Khonds came to prominence. It was largely because two Khond dominated areas, namely Ghumsar and Baud were under the suzerainty of the Bhanjas. Yet in the later period the hegemony of the Gangas and Gajapatis over the Khonds remained nominal as their administration could not extend to the Khond tracts because of their wild nature. The same was also the case during the Mughal and the Maratha rules. It was only during the British rule that the Khonds were exposed to the outer world and their history became more significant.

The Khonds had deveeloped their own political structure. It was semi-patriarchal and semi-feudal in nature. The Khond tracts were divided into muthas and villages. Furthermore, in Khond organisations there was a three-tier system-the family, the sept and the tribe. Each such organisation had its own representative body. Its chief used to control all the affairs in the areas of his own jurisdiction. The local Rajas or zamindars had virtually no authority over the Khonds.

For centuries the Khonds remained independent in respect of their age-old indigenous institutions. They had no code of written laws and statutes. Yet they were lawabiding people, loyal to the tribal rules, traditions and customs.

In the middle of the nineteenth century the British Government made an attempt to consolidate their administration in

Khond tracts. But it was a difficult problem for them in dealing with these aboriginal people. Yet they realised that to keep them completely isolated would be a mistake. The isolation would lead them to further stagnation. They thought it right to safeguard the tribal integrity and social organisation, while trying to bring them into the national main stream. Ways and means had to be evolved for the gradual adjustment of the tribal population to the changed conditions. This was also the nature of the British administration in the Khond tracts. They succeeded in this matter, though success was not easy to come by. There came a gradual change in the old administrative structure of the Khonds. But this change became comparatively slow due to the inaccessibility of the country, unhealthy climate, heavy expenses and reluctance of the British officials to be stationed there.

Living in a different surrounding, the economic life of the Khonds became different from the people of the plains. The Khonds claimed themselves as the owners and cultivators of the soil. They followed the nomadic system of cultivation, cutting and burning the forest in the dry season, and dibbling in the seeds when the rains broke out. The soil was not rich for agriculture. There were no irrigation facilities either. So the agricultural produce of the Khonds was not very encouraging. Except in the Ghumsar Maliahs, where the Khonds sold crops in the market for profit, the Khonds possessed hardly any agricultural stock of their own. For a considerable time of the year, they had to live chiefly upon the jungle produce.

The Khonds were basically husbandmen and hunters. They knew no trade. They had no extraneous source of subsistence either. Their means of subsistence were the fruits of the forest, and the products of the plains.

In the Khond areas the Hindu Oriyas had no right over the soil. They were essentially traders. So they met the wants of the Khonds by importing commodities into the hills from the marts or the low country, or by purchasing them from the merchants who periodically visited their area. But with the march of time, that is, in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Khonds developed a greater social intercourse

with the Hindu Oriyas. They entered more and more into the trade and commerce of the plains. They began to sell or exchange the hill produces in the markets or fairs of the Khond hills and the plains. The business was transacted mostly through barter.

Before the introduction of British administration there were no roads worth the name in the Khond tracts While engaged in the suppression of Meriah and Infanticide, the British Officials realised the importance of opening up communications in those areas. Hence they started to build roads. Within a few years a remarkable change in this respect was seen in these Khond highlands. This improvement in the communication system changed the fortune of the Khonds. The inaccessible tract was converted into well traversed country. Consequently it encouraged the commercial intercourse between the Khond hills and the plains.

The Khond used to live under extreme poverty. Behind it lay their religion as the vital cause. Their religious rites, human sacrifices and slaughtering of buffaloes before the deities imposed a great financial burden on them. The impoverishment was also caused by their feuds, marriage customs, insufficient agricultural produce and the remoteness of the marts The economic exploitation by the Sundis, Sowcars and Oriya traders; the feudal exploitation like Goti and Bethi added to their impoverishment. It was towards the end of the nineteenth century that an increase in the material prosperity of these hill people was noticed. It was all due to the improvement in communications, agriculture, trade and commerce in the Khond tracts.

Living in the isolation of the hilly and forest-covered tracts, the Khonds preserved the primitive features of their society. Most of their villages were perched on hill-tops, close to the fields of cultivation. Hence the size of the village varied in proportion to the water supply. In some places extensive clearings of the area gave their settlements a comparatively civilized look. The Panas, Dombos and some other servile classes lived on the outskirts of the village. The Khond houses were built very low to ensure resistance to the violent storms

which were frequent in the area. The dormitory system called dangeniddu was a common feature of their villages. A Khond family was mostly nuclear and patrilineal. The women were given high respect in the family. There was no caste-system in the Khond commuinty.

The ordinary food of the Khonds consisted of rice or dhal or other dry grain boiled into a kind of porridge. They were excessively fond of liquor which had led them to live in indebtedness. The costume of the Khonds was simple. It usually consisted of a piece of coarse cloth worn round the loins, the ends of the cloth being red and hanging down like tai s both in front and behind. The head-dress of a Khond was more elaborate. The woman's dress consisted of only a short petticoat covering the body from the waist to the knees. She got her body tattooed for ornamentation. Khonds of both sexes used to wear ornaments.

The Khonds' chief amusements were hunting, dancing and signing. Like the Santals and Hos, the Khonds were keen sportsmen and showed remarkable skill in the use of primitive weapons. The Khonds were fond of musical performance and dancing. They were also proficient in the field of arts and architecture Of course there was a singular lack of variety in their arts and artefacts. It was all due to their rude life-style, inhospitable surroundings and extreme poverty.

The Khonds had great respect for their social customs. Birth, marriage and death—the three great incidents of their life—were observed with special ceremonies and solemnities. The marriage in Khond society was purely exogamic. They considered the bride as a commercial speculation for which they purchased her by paying bride-price. Widow-marriage was allowed in Khond society. Divorce was also permitted among them. Polyandry and polygamy were unknown in their society. Adultory was rarely found. Towards the end of the nineteenth century the Khond marriage-customs gradually began to be assimilated with those of the Hindus.

Fear of the environment had made Khonds extremely superstitious. They thought that any unusual occurrence in nature or the events of life were caused by deities or other

superior power. So they had to appease these powers by sacrifices. Furthermore, they used to practise many peculiar superstitious customs. They had a strong belief in magic, sorcery, and witchcraft. The medicine-man of each village played an important role in it. The Khonds believed that he was the only person who could counteract the hand of the evil spirits.

Education is the chief instrument of bringing a lasting change in a community. So the British Government and the Missionaries tried to introduce education in the Khond hills. They did a commendable work in civilising the ignorant, and superstitious Khonds, Kui, the spoken language of the Khonds was improved by introducing a script for the same. Hill schools were opened and parents were sincerely persuaded to send their children. The Khonds who were initially apathetic and indifferent to education now understood the utility of learning. The spread of education brought about a remarkable change in the Khond society. The very psychology of this backward tribe could be changed, with the result that the conservative and superstitious attitude of the Khonds underwent a sea change. It also helped in bringing about a mental awakening and consciousness among them.

Necessity has been said to be the mother of invention and such is the case in the society. Living in seclusion for ages the conservative Khonds who were hitherto grossly superstitious, rustic and ignorant wanted changes in their social set-up. Education gave them a fillip in this regard. They wanted to adjust themselves with the changing situation. For their own happiness and better life, it was necessary to discard their customary lethargy and traditional reliance on the established rules of the society. The process of social change started when they came in contact with the more advanced Hindus of the plains. They gradually adopted some of their customs. This change in the mode of the life of the Khonds influenced other tribal people of Orissa. As is to be expected, however, such changes were very slow.

Religion played an important role in the Khonds' society. Their Pantheon was thronged with a vast company of Gods and Goddesses, spirits, deified heroes, glorified ancestors and other unseen beings. They believed that many of their deities

were malicious, bent on causing mischief, and hence a menace to the Khond community. They inspired only fear and horror. So sacrifices became the very foundation of the Khold religion. The Khonds believed that the offering of blood as sacrifice was the only means to propitiate the deities. And the human sacrifice was the best of all the sacrifices. However, there were three sets of deities in the Khond Pantheon. Some deities were purely aboriginal, some were of mixed origin and some were derived from the Hindus. Bura Pennu, the Sun-God and his consort Tari Pennu, the Earth Goddess, were the chief deities of the Khonds. Of all the religions of the world, the Khond tribes of India alone gave the Earth Goddess such a pre-eminent position in its Pantheon. She was propitiated with human sacrifices. The religion of the Khonds was strongly concentrated on the fertility of the earth. Superstitiously they used to believe that crops would be abundant if human blood could be offered to their Earth Goddess. The Khonds' religion was Animistic. The Khonds neither made any icons of their deities nor built any temple to worship them. Priesthood formed an essential feature of the Khond religion. All activities of the Khond society were more or less conducted through their religion. Their social traditions and laws, customs and rites were institutionalised through the language of their religion.

The British Government was surprised to find that these primitive tribes were in the habit of offering Meriah or human sacrifice to their deities. Immediately the Government insisted on abandoning this custom and took necessary steps to suppress it completely. For this purpose the Governor General of India in 1845 took steps to organise the special Meriah Agency covering all such areas in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies. It was placed in the hands of single officer to be aided by a number of Assistants. The Agency remained in existence until 1861. By the later date the Meriah sacrifice had been completely abandoned. The Khonds thereafter sacrificed buffaloes in place of human beings. Yet they complained constantly that the Earth Goddess was not pleased with this substitution. Consequently the crops had been failing. A grim

memorial of these forgotten rites is to be seen in the Madras Museum in form of a rude representation in wood, of the head and trunk of an elephant pivoted on a stout post. This wooden elephant was used at Meriah sacrifices where the victim was fastened before meeting his tragic death.

Another horrid social practice of the Khonds which caught the serious attention of the British was infanticide. Long before the discovery of infanticide among the Khonds in Orissa, the British Government had already suppressed similar crime in other parts of India. The policy of the suppression of infanticide in the Khond country was more or less the same as Meriah sacrifice. The same Meriah Agents were entrusted with the task of suppressing this gruesome practice. A mixed policy of persuasion and coercion succeeded in abolishing the practice.

Thus by the benign intervention of the British Government these two cruel customs amounting to murder could be eradicated. Indeed, this was a noble attempt in the cause of humanity and religion.

Freedom was the very essence of the life-philosophy of the Khonds. They were brought up amidst nature and so had developed a tremendous love for it. When these freedom-loving tribals became victims to injustice and tyranny and were shackled by servitude, their souls began to weep. So the Khonds rebelled against the alien power. Two such glorious rebellions were seen in Ghumsar State under their celebrated leaders Dora Bissoi and Chakra Bissoi. Political unrest in Ghumsar, undue interference by the British officials in the succession affairs of the State, humiliation to their Rajas, unsuitability of the British laws and regulations, economic sufferings of the Khonds and intervention in their socio-religious beliefs by the British combined to bring about these rebellions by the Khonds against the British. The Ghumsar rebellions were suppressed ruthlessly by the application of force, but the way the Khonds under their leaders fought for their independence has elicited the admiration of all.

The Ghumsar rebellions were followed by some other rebellions by the Khonds. But every one of them ended ina

fiasco. Those rebellions could not stand before the powerful British force. Even then the gains were somewhat substantial for the Khonds. It changed the nature of the British administration of the hill tracts of Orissa. Hereafter the Government paid serious attention to the problems of the Khonds and their solutions. The lot of the Khonds and that of other tribes of India considerably improved.

Thus there accrued mixed results when the Khond tracts came under the British administration in the nineteenth century. It was because of the manifold changes in the socio-economic lives of the Khonds coming in the wake of the British administration that the British Government was highly applauded. True, most of the things they did in this region had an imperialistic design. Yet the suppression of the horrible rites, was an admirable act. The British did not like to see any social practice which was opposed to their own laws and ethics. Furthermore, the introduction of education and communication system evoked admiration from all. On the other hand under the British administration, the Khonds who were a freedom-loving people lost all their independence. And they remained so until the mid-twentieth Century when India achieved independence.

APPENDIX—C

Names of Relationships in use among the Khonds*

I. Relations through the father, whether of man or woman

Great—Great—Grand Father
Prenda

Great Grand Father
Bodu

Great Grand Mother
Bodai

Grand Father's brother
Bodu

Grand father
Akenju

Grand mother
Prenda

Grand Father's brother's son
Koku

Father's elder brother's wife
Bodai

—Father's elder brother
Bodu

Father's Younger brother
Koku

—His wife
Asia

Father's sister
Mibadi

—Her husband
Mithodu

Father
Naiba

Step-mother
Asia

Male cousin
Ambesa

Female cousin
Bai

Self
Anu

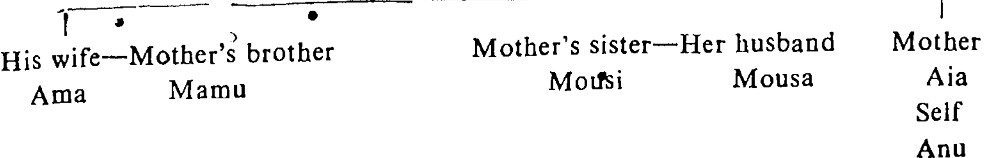
Step brother
Dada

Male cousin's son
Bodu

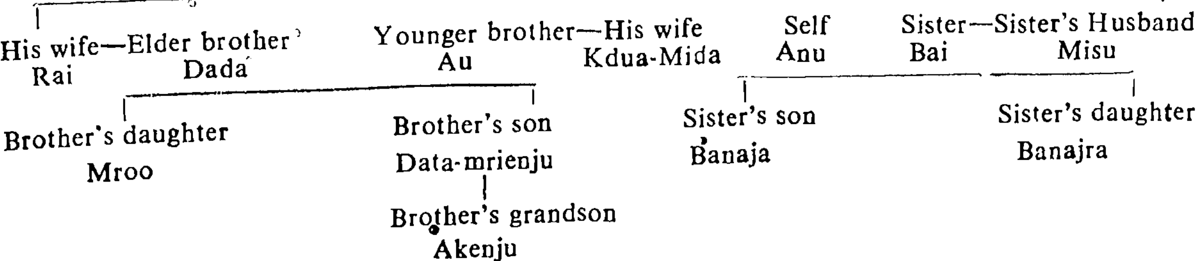
Female cousin's son
Baneja

*Vide H.H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp, 410-418.

II. Relations through the mother, whether of man or woman



III. Relations through the brother and sister, whether of man or woman



IV (a) Relations through the wife of a man

Wife's father — Wife's mother
Nisasura Nisasu

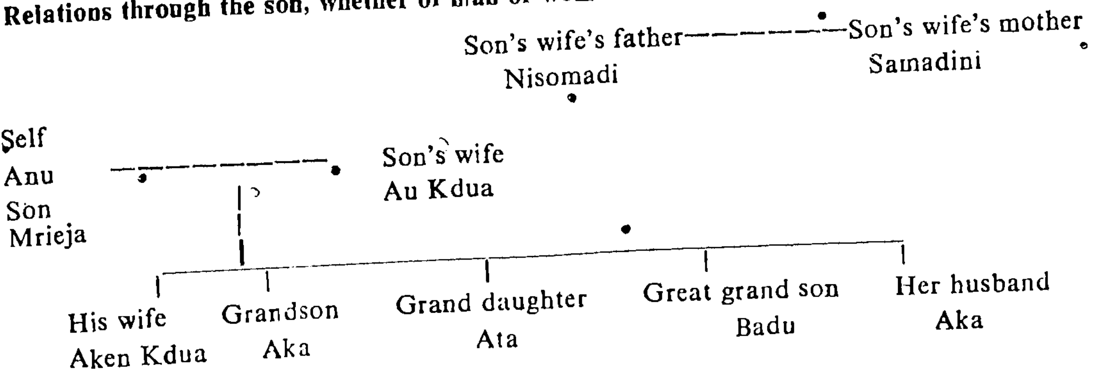
Self — Anu
Wife — Mikdua
Wife's brother — Mijalah
His wife — Bai
Wife's nephew — Boneja
Wife's sister — Pada
Her husband — Sadu
Wife's nephew — Pada Mrianja

IV (b) Relations through the husband of a man

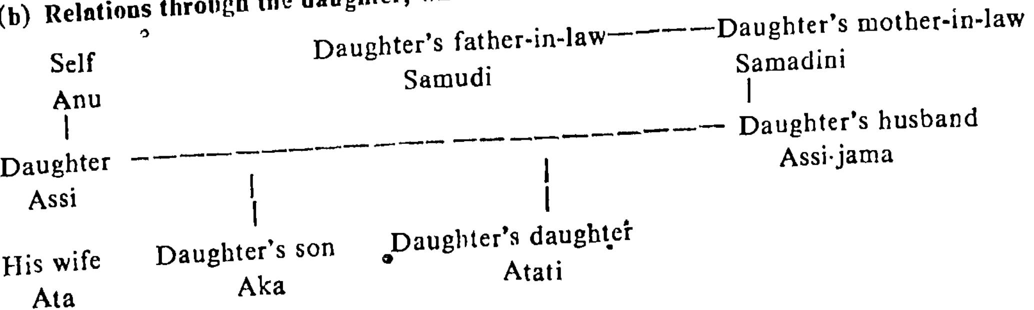
Husband's father — Husband's mother
Sasura Sasu

Self — Anu
Husband — Migoma
His other wife — Niloda
Husband's elder brother — Dada
His wife — Dada Nina
Husband's younger brother — Au
His wife — Api
Her husband — Misadanjama
Step-son — Nimido
Husband's nephew — Mi Baneja
Husband's sister — Missors
Husband's nephew — Boneja

V. (a) Relations through the son, whether of man or woman



V (b) Relations through the daughter, whether of man or woman



APPENDIX—D

The Wooing (Love Song)*

Gladden my heart, (lit : liver)
Today is the (fateful) day.
Move your body in dance,
Here in this place.
Why do you decline, my darling,
For what reason do you decline ?
My love, gladden my mind,
And shed lustre on your country.
With the happy eyes of a titeri bird
We shall see you dance ;
With the happy eyes of a jogeri bird
We shall watch you posture.
More the joints of your body
Move both your arms.
Your mother having given birth to you,
Dance gracefully ;
Your father having produced you,
Dance rythmically,
Come, my beloved,
I shall tie up your Pan-woven cloth round your waist ;
Come, my beloved,
I shall tie up your Khond-woven cloth round your waist ;
On your account we have come in ;
To fulfil your desire we have come ;
......Your (intended) husband has come :
You are the millet-stalk, and I the grains you bear.
On your account I will take a great she-buffalo,
On your account I will take a great he-buffalo ;
Both our people will go together.
On account of my great love (for you)
I cannot leave you....
(Then brass pots and other items of the bride-gift are offered)
I cannot, will not, leave ...
I will take you to my dwelling,
I will take you to my house.

* Vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXVIII, 1899, Part III, No. 1, J.E, Friend-Pereira's 'Some Rhond Songs'.

APPENDIX—E

Specimen of Invocation which has used when wine was poured out in Libation to the Tutelary Demons*

O Ispor Parbati ne-enju, siteni ana site gati kalu asanai samdi sahani taki vajamanamu.	O Iswar Parbati, to-day having caught the sitenju, and having brought the site gati kalu, we have come to samdi sahani (i.e. the girl's father and mother who become related to the boy's father and mother by marriage).
Ole bole Kunaganda vava side	We have not come on this visit for health or for wealth.
Mata pita penka manga, mati ma, gram-seni, turki penu, goberi penka-ganderu, sandi jori gidu.	O ye ancestor gods and goddesses, (i.e. the manes of the ancestors). earth goddess, village-god, god of the refuse-heap, gods of the dung-hill, be ye propitious !
Krandi oh sidi'a kari	Keep away (lit, let there not be) tigers and bears !
Sapu guta sid'a kari	Keep away thorns and splinters !
Papo dangi sid'a kari.	Keep away sin and hatred !
Putuni janjani sid'a kari	Keep us from tripping against stones and boulders !
Momeri duko sid'a kari	Keep away the fever affliction !
Gati muda gipki manamu, pans loko koksa nai.	We five men sitting together are propitiating all of you.
Siki ina kari', poku ina' kari.	Protect us from worms, protect us from vermin !
Ne-enju tekka mai pidari pita ate	From to-day she has become our pidari pita (i.e. she has become related by marriage to the manes of our ancestors).

* Vide Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXXI, 1902, No 1, pp. 26-28, J.E. Friend-Pereira's 'Marriage customs of the Khonds'.

Ineti tikka eneti tikka laiti kuiti ajaneka sa' a' du, va' a' du.	(O ye manes of ancestors), from our side and from her side, wherever ye be below or above, do not be disagreeable and absent your-selves.
Mai tlau gandi ate	She has become ours, head any body.
Gati muda gitamu.	We have made propitiation.
Samdi sahani gitamu	We have made samdi sahani.
Purba bidi api bainke samdeni, amanke sasu gitamu.	According to ancient usage we have made our api and bai (sisters) her samdi, our father's sister her sasu (mother-in-law).
Sorbo sahani gia itamu	All of them having been made sahani, keep ye them so.
Manakai Ispor Parbatindi.	Let all of us remain well, O Iswar Parbati!
Ne-enju tikka samdi gitamu	From today we have made samdi.
Ivaru kute-ka pronju sineru	If they should recede from their promise (lit., deny), they shall give pronju (damages in the shape of a buffalo for a feast).
Amu kute-ka amu pronju sinamu.	If we should recede from our promise, we will give pronju.
Kalu siki janamu: undu, tinju.	We are pouring out liquor: eat, drink !
Poru sila sida 'kari.	Keep away querrels and fights!
Momeri duko sida 'kari.	Keep away the fever afflic-tion !
Mati ma, gram-seni, turki penu, goberi penka-ganderu, mata pita penka manga. Ispor Parabatindi.	O earth-goddess, O village-god, O god of the dust-heap, O gods of the dung-hill, O ancestor gods and goddess, O Iswar Parbati!

APPENDIX F

A Substituted Sacrifice in Ganjam Maliah in 1894

Of a substituted sacrifice, which was carried out in the Ganjum Maliahs in 1894,* the following graphic account has been given. "Suddenly we (eye witness's party) came upon a number of Khonds carrying an immensely long bamboo, about fifty feet in length, surmounted by a gorgeous sort of balloon made of red and white cloth stretched on a bamboo frame. Attached to this were dried strips of pig's flesh, and the whole of the extraordinary structure was surmounted by a huge plume of peacock's feathers that waved gaily in the breeze. Along with this was carried another bamboo, not so long, slung all over with iron bells. We found that the men had been worshipping, and presenting these structres to a sylvan deity close, and were now hastening to the small Khond village of Dhuttiegaum, the scene of the present Meriah sacrifice. Half a mile brought us to this hamlet, situated amongst a dense grove of trees, in the midst of which was tied to a curiously fluted and carved wooden post the sacrificial buffalo, a placid animal, with its body glistening with the oil of many anointing. The huge bamboo pole, with its crown of red and white cloth and peacock's feathers, and incongruous shreds of dried pig's flesh, was now erected in the centre of the village. The comparative quiet in the village did not last long, for on a sudden the air was rent with a succession of shrieks. With the sound of the beating of Maliah drums, and the blowing of buffalo horns, a party of Khonds came madly dancing and rushing down a steep hillside from some neighbouring village. They dashed up to the buffalo, and began frantically dancing with the villagers already assembled round and round the animal. Each man carried a green bough of some tree, a sharp knife, and a tanghi. They were all adorned in holiday attire, their hair combed and knotted on the forehead, and profusely decorated with waving feathers. All of them were more or less intoxicated. Various other villagers now began to arrive, thick and fast, in the same manner, with wavings of green boughs, flourishing of knives, and hideous yells. Each party was led by the headman or

* Vide Madras Mail, 1894.

Moliko of the villages. The dancing now became more general, and faster and furious, as more and more joined the human 'merry go round', circling about the unfortunate buffalo. The women, who had followed their lords and masters at a discreet distance, stood sedately by in a group, and took no part whatever in the revels. They were for the most part fine buxom girls, well groomed and oiled, and stood demurely watching everything with their sharp black eyes. The hitherto quiet buffalo, who for nearly two days had been without food and water, now began to get excited, and, straining at its tether, plunged and butted at the dancers, catching one man neatly on the nose so that the blood flowed copiously. However, the Khonds were too excited to care, and circled round and round the poor maddened brute, singing and blowing horns into its ears, beating drums, and every now and then offering it cakes brought with them from their villagers, and then laying them on the top of the post as offerings. As they thus madly careered about, we had ample time to note their extraordinary constumes. One man had somehow got hold of an old blue Police overcoat, which he had put on inside out, and round his waist he had gathered what seemed to be a number of striped tent carpets, forming a stiff ballet skirt or kilt. He was one of the most athletic in spinning round the buffalo, flourishing a kitchen chopper. Another man's constume consisted of almost nothing at all. He had, however, profusely daubed his body with white and black spots, and on his head he had centred all his decorative genius. The head in question was swatched in yards of cloth, terminating at the back in a perfect cascade of cock's feathers. He excitedly waved over this erection an ancient and very rusty umbrella, with many ventilations, with streamers of white cloth attached to the top. Others had tied on to their heads with bands of cloth the horns of buffaloes, or brass horns made in imitation of those of the spotted deer. Their long, black and curly hair hung in masses from beneath this strange erection, giving them a most startling appearance. The dancing round the buffalo lasted quite two hours, as they were waiting for the arrival of the Patro, before concluding the final ceremonies, and the great

man was fashionably late. To incite their jaded energies to the further terpsichorean efforts, from time to time the dancers drank copious draughts of a kind of beer, used specially on these occasions, and made from Kukuri, a species of grain. At last, the long expected Patro arrived with the usual uproar of many deafening sounds, both artificial and natural, and with the waving of green boughs. On this occasion he walked last while the whole of his retinue preceded him dancing, headed by an ancient and withered hag, carrying on her shoulders a Maliha drum of cow-hide stretched tightly over a hoop of iron, and vigorously beaten from behind her by a Khond with stiff thongs of dried leather. The great man himself walked sedately, followed by his 'charger', a broken-need tat (pony), extraodinarily caparisoned, and led by a youth of tender years, whose sole garment consisted of a faded red drummer's coat of antiquated cut. As soon as the Patro had seated himself comfortably on a log near the dancers, a change came over the scene. The hitherto shouting and madly revolving throng stopped their gyrations round the stupefied beast, too much exhausted and frightend to offer any resistance, and, falling on its neck and body, began to smother it with caresses and endearments, and, to a low plaintive air, crooned and wailed over it, the following dirge, of which I (eye-witness) append a rude translation. Tradition says that they used to sing it, with slight variations, over their human victims before the sacrifice :

Blame us not, O buffalo !
Thus for sacrificing thee,
For our fathers have ordained
This ancient mystery.

We have brought thee with a price,
Have paid for thee all thy worth.
What blame can rest upon us
Who save our land from dearth?

Famine stares us in the face,
Parched are our fields, and dry,
Death looks in at ev'ry door,
For food our young ones cry.

Thadi Pennoo veils her face,
Popitiate me, she cries
Give to me of flesh and blood,
A willing sacrifice.

That where'er its blood is shed,
On land, or field, or hill,
There the gen'rous grain may spring,
So ye may eat your fill.

Then be glad, O buffalo !
Willing sacrifice to be,
Soon in Thadi's meadows green,
Thou shalt brouse eternally.

After the Khonds had been chanting this sacrificial hymn for sometime, the buffalo was united from the carved post, and led, with singing, dancing and shouting, and with the noise of many musical instruments, to a sacred grove a few hundred yards off, and there tied to a stake. As soon as it had been firmly tied, the Khonds threw off all their superfluous clothihg to the large crowd of womankind waiting near, and stood round the animal, each man with his hand uplifted, and holding a sharp knife ready to strike at a moment's notice, as soon as the priest and Janni had given the word of command. The Janni, who did not differ outwardly from the others, now gave the buffalo a slight tap on the head with a small axe. An indescribable scene followed. The Khonds in a body fell on the animal, and, in an amazingly short time, literally tore the living victim to shreds with their knives, leaving nothing but the head, bones, and stomach. Death must, mercifully, have been almost instantaneous. Every particle of flesh and skin had been stripped off during the few minutes they fought and struggled over the buffalo, eagerly grasping for every atom of flesh. As soon as a man had secured a piece of flesh, he rushed away with the gory mass, as fast as he could, to his fields, to bury in therein according to ancient custom, before the sun had set. As some of them had to do good distances to effect this, it was imperative that they should run very fast. A curious scene now took

place, for which he could obtain no explanation. As the men ran all the women flung after them clods of earth, some of them taking very good effect. The sacred grove was cleared of people, save a few that guarded the remnants left of the buffalo, which were taken, and burnt with ceremony at the foot of the stake."

APPENDIX—G

Rituals in Meriah Sacrificial Ceremony*

The Priest's Invocation

O Tari Pennu ! When we omitted to gratify you with your desired food, you forgot kindness to us. We possess but little and uncertain wealth. Increase it, and we shall be able often to repeat this rite. We do not excuse our fault. Do you forgive it, and prevent it in future by giving us increased wealth. We have present to you your food. Let our houses be so filled with the noise of children that our voices cannot be heard by those without. Let our cattle be so numerous that neither fish, frog, nor worm may live in the drinking ponds beneath their trampling feet. Let our cattle so crowd our pastures that no vacant spot shall be visible to those who look at them from afar. Let our folds be so filled with the soil of our sheep that we may dig in them as deep as a man's height without meeting a stone. Let our swine so abound that our home fields shall need no ploughs but their rooting snouts. Let our poultry be so numerous as to hide the thatch of our houses. Let the stone at our fountains be worn hollow by the multitude of our brass vessels. Let our children have it but for a tradition that in the days of their forefathers there were tigers and snakes. Let us have but one care, the yearly enlargement of our houses to store our increasing wealth. Then we shall multiply your rites. We know that this is your desire. Give us increase of wealth, and we will give you increase of worship.

* Vide R.G. Latham, *Ethnology of India*, pp. 330-337.

After this each individual present asks for what he wishes. and the priest continues

Umbally Bylee went to cut vegetables with a hook. She cut her finger. The earth was then soft mud; but when the blood-drops fell it became firm. She said, "Behold the good change! cut up my body to complete it!" The people answered, "If we spill our own blood we shall have no descendants. We will obtoin victims elsewhere. Will not the Dombo and the Gahi sell their children when in distress? and shall we not give our wealth for them?" and they prayed thus:—

"May the gods send the exhausted Dombo, his feet pierced with thorns, to our door! May the gods give us wealth."

Their prayer was answered. They procured and sacrificed a victim. The whole earth became firm and they obtained increase of wealth. The next year many victims came for sale, and the people thanked the gods, saying, "You have sent us victims, and have given us wealth". Thenceforward the world has been happy and rich, both in the portion which belongs to the Khonds, and the portion which belongs to Rajahs.

And society, with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child and the bonds between ruler and subject arose. And there came into use cows, bullocks, and buffaloes, sheep, and poultry. Then also came into use the trees and the hills, and the pastures and grass, and irrigated and dry fields, and the seeds suitable to the hills and to the valleys, and iron and ploughshares, and arrows and axes, and the juice of the palm-tree, and love between the sons and daughters of the people, making new households. In this manner did the necessity for the rite of sacrifice arise.

Then, also, did hunting begin. A man brought in a rat, a snake, and a lizard, and inquired if they were fit to eat. Then the earth Goddess came and rested on the Janni, and said to him, "Give names to all the wild animals, distinguishing those that are fit and those are unfit for use, and let men go to the jungles and the hills, and kill the sambur and spotted deer, and other game, with arrows and with poison." And men went to hunt.

While hunting, they one day found the people of Darungabadi and Laddabarri (tribes of the Souradah Zamindary, adjacent to Goomsur, which do not offer human sacrifices) offering sacrifice. Their many curved axes opened the bowels of the victims, which flowed out. Then who went to the hunt said, "This ceremony is ill-performed. The goddess will not remain with you". And the goddess left these awkward sacrificers, and came with our ancestors. These people now cut trees only. The deity preferred the sacrifice at the hands of our forefathers, and thenceforth the whole burden of the worship of the world has lain upon as, and we now discharge it.

Tari Pennu in this way came with our ancestors. But they at first knew only the form of worship necessary for themselves, not that necessary for the whole world. And there was still much fear; and there were but few children, and there were deadly snakes and tigers, and thorns piercing the feet. Tney then called upon the Janni, to inquire the will of the goddess, by the suspended sickle. He said, "We practise the rite as it was first instituted, worshipping the first gods. What fault, what sin is ours?" The goddess replied, "In a certain month, wash your garments with ashes, or with stones; make Kenna; purchase a child; feed him in every house; pour oil on him and on his garments, and ask for his spittle; take him into the plain, when the Earth Goddess demands him; let the Janni set him up, call all the world, let friendship reign; call upon the names of the first people; cut the victim in pieces; let each man place a shred of the flesh in his fields, in his grain store, and in his yard, and then kill a buffalo for food, and give a feast, with drinking and dancing to all. Then see how many children will be born to you how much game will be yours, what crops, how few shall die. All things will become right.

We obeyed the goddess, and assembled the people. Then the victim child wept, and reviled, and uttered curses. All the people rejoiced except those with whom the child had dwelt, and the Janni. They were overwhelmed with grief; their sorrows prevailed entirely over their expectations of benefit,

and they did not give either their minds or their faith to the gods. "The world" said they, "rejoices, we are filled with despair", and they demanded of the deity, "Why have you instituted this miserable heart-rending rite?" Then the Earth Goddess came again and rested upon the Janni, and said, "Away with this grief. Your answer is this when the victim shall weep, say to him, Blame not us, blame your parents who sold you. What fault is ours? The Earth Goddess demands a sacrifice. It is necessary to the world. The tiger begins to rage, the snake to poison, fevers and every pain afflict the people; shall you alone be exempt from evil? When you shall have given repose to the world, you will become a god, by the will of the gods".

The Victim Answers

Have you no enemies, no vile and useless child, no debtor to another tribe who compels you for his debts to sell your lands; no coward who in time of battle skulks with another tribe? Have you none of these to seek out and sacrifice?

The Janni

We have acted upon quite different views. We did not kidnap you on the road, nor while gathering sticks in the jungle, nor when at play. The souls of those whom you would have us sacrifice can never become gods. They are only fit to perish by epilepsy, falling in the fire, or by ulcers, or other dread diseases. Such sacrifices would be of no avail. To obtain you, we cleared the hill and the jungle fearless of the tiger and the snake. We stinted ourselves to fill your parents, and gave them our brass vessels; and they gave you to us as freely as one gives light from a fire. Blame them! Blame them!

The Victim

And did I share the price which my parants received? Did I agree to the sale? You now tell me this. No one remembers his mother's womb, nor the taste of his mother's milk; and I considered you my parents. Where there was delicate food in

the village, I was fed. When the child of any one suffered, he grieved; but if I suffered, the whole village grieved, when did you conceive this fraud, this wickedness to destroy me? You O my father, and you,—and you,—and you,—O my fathers! do not destroy me.

The Mallicko, or chief of the village in which the victim was kept, or his representative, now says

This usage is delivered down to us from the first people of the first time. They practised it. The people of the middle time omitted it. The earth became soft. An order re-established the rite. Oh, child, we must destroy you. Forgive us. You will become a god.

The Victim

Of this your intention I knew nothing, I thought I was to pass my life with you. I assisted to build houses and to clear fields for my children. See ! There are the palm-trees I planted. There is the public building on which I laboured—its palings still white in your sight. I planted the tobacco which you are now eating. Look behind you ! The cows and the sheep which I have tended look lovingly at me. All this time you gave me no hint of my intended fate. I toiled with you at every work with my whole mind. Had I known of this doom, I had still toiled, but with different feelings. Let the whole burden of my soul's grief, as I remember the past, lie upon you.

The Chief

You are about to become a god. We shall profit by your fate. We cannot argue with you. Do you not recollect that, when your father came to claim your uncompleted price, you snatched up a shinning vessel; that we said, "That is your father's", and you threw it at him, and away amongst the sheep?

Do you not recollect the day on which we cut your hair, devoting you to sacrifice? And do you not recollect that when many were sick, and the Janni brought the divining sickle, he declared "The earth demands a victim?"

Then several persons around say, "I should have told you, and I, and I", and several give answers such as "I thought of our hard labour to acquire you, which had been wasted, had you escaped from us," and, ——"You might have known all well".

The Victim

It is true I did observe something of this; but your aged mothers, and your wives, and your beautiful children, my brothers and sisters, assured me that you were humane, and would never kill one so useful and so beautiful as I. "They will rather", said your mothers and children, "remembering your acts and your ways, sell these fields, and these trees, and that tobacco, to procure a substitute". This be believed, and I was happy and laboured with you.

The Chief

We cannot satisfy you. Ask your father, who is present. I satisfied him with my favourite cattle, my valuable brass vessels, and sheep, and my with silken and woollen cloths, and axes. A bow and arrows, not four days old, I gave to his fancy. Your parents, forgetting your beauty, forgetting the pleasure of cherishing you, turned their hearts to my cattle and my brass vessels, and gave you away. Upbraid them. Heap imprecations upon them. We will curse them with you, imprecating upon them—that all their children may be similarly sacrificed. That they may lose, within the year, the price for which they sold you. That they may have a miserable and forlorn old age, lingering childless and unfed. That when they die in their empty house, there may be no one to inform the village for two days, so that, when they are carried out to be burned, all shall hold their nostrils. That their own souls may afterwards animate victims given to hard-hearted men, who will not even answer their death-plaints consolingly. Curse them thus, and we will curse them with you.

Mullicko, like a flower, were you blind, or dumb, or how were you possessed, that you never said, "Why do you cherish, so lovingly, this child—this child who must die for the world?"

Then had I known my doom and leapt from a precipice and died. Your reason for concealment—living as you do apart from men, is—that you thought of yourself. "I am great. The whole world attends on my ministrations". But, world, look upon him? What miscreant eyes! What a villainous head, with hair like a sumbully tree ! And see how enraged he is ! What a jabber he makes! What a body he has got, starved upon worship which depends upon men's griefs! —A body anointed with spittle for ! oil Look, O world! Look, and tell ! See, how he comes at me, leaping like a toad !

The Janni replied

Child ! why speak thus ? I am the friend of the gods, The first in their sight. Listen to men. I did not persuade your father or your mother to sell you. I did not desire the Mullickos to sell their fields to acquire your price. Your parents sold you. These Mullickos bought you. They consulted me, inquiring, "How may this child become blessed?" The hour is not yet over. When it is past how grateful will you be to me! You as a god, will gratefully approve and honour me.

The Victim

My father begot me, the Mullickos bought me, my life is devoted and all will profit by my death. But you, O Janni ! who make nothing of my sufferings, take to yourself all the virtue of my sacrifice. You shall, however, in no respec profit by it.

The Janni

The Deity created the world, and everything that lives and I am his minister and representative. God made you, the Mullicko bought you, and I sacrifice you. The virtue of you death is not yours, but mine, but it will be attributed to you through me.

The Victim

My curse be upon the man who, while he did not share in my price, is first at my death. Let the world ever be upon one side while he is on the other. Let him, destitute and without stored food, hope to live only through the distresses of others. Let him be the poorest wretch alive. Let his wife and children think him foul. I am dying. I call upon all—upon those who bought me, on those whose food I have eaten, on those who are strangers here, on all who will now share my flesh—let all curse the Janni to the gods !

The Janni

Dying creature, do you contend with me? I shall not allow you a place among the gods.

The Victim

In dying I shall become a god, then will you know whom you serve. Now do your will on me.

Then in a few minutes the victim will be torn to pieces. Thereafter a bullock is sacrificed and made a feast of, with following prayer to Tari

O Tari Pennu ! you have afflicted us greatly; have brought death to our children and our bullocks, and failure to our corn;—have afflicted us in every way. But we do not complain of this. It is you who desire only to compel us to perform your due rites, and then to raise up and enrich us. We were anciently enriched by this rite ; all around us are great from it ; therefore, by our cattle, our flocks, our pigs, and our grain, we procurred a victim and offered a sacrifice. Do you now enrich us. Let our herds be so numerous that they cannot be housed ; let children so abound that the care of them shall overcome their parents—as shall be seen by their burned hands, let our heads over strike against brass pots, innumerable hanging from our roofs : let the rats from their nests of shreds of scarlet cloth and silk, let all lhe kites in the country be seen in the trees of our village, from beasts being killed there every-

day. We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us.

When the victim has been cut to pieces, the deputies who have been sent from the several villages to receive a shared of its flesh, return home. They divide and subdivide it among the heads of the families, saying

O Tari Pennu ! Our village offered such a person as a sacrifice, and divided the flesh among all the people in honour of the gods. Now, such a village has offered such a one, and has sent us flesh for you. Be not displeased with the quantity, we could only give them as much. If you will give us wealth we will repeat the rite.

A year afterwards a hog is sacrificed to Tari Pennu with this invocation :

O Tari Pennu ! up to this time we have been engaged in our worship, which we commenced a year ago. Now the rites are completed. Let us receive the benefit.

APPENDIX—H

The Resolutions Which Formed the Basis of the Act of XXI, 1845*

"The practical measures to be pursued to repress the crimes of this superstitions, are questions of the deepest interest to humanity, in which the character of the Indian Government is concerned and its efforts ought never to cease until it has succeeded in extirpating such abominable customs.

"Considering the nature and the extent of the country in which they prevail, the condition of wild tribes who inhabit the unhealthy fastnesses of Orissa, and the small number of individuals employed in the suppression of these sacrifices, there is reason to be gratified, that so much has already been accomplished with such very slender means.

"Almost all the Officers of experience who have written on this subject, are unanimous, that the extinction of the Meriah sacrifice must be obtained by gradual and voluntary operations ; that force and intimidation ought not to be resorted to.

* Vide SRG (India), No. V, pp. 90-93.

as in all probability the attempt would be attended with much loss of life, and little chance of ultimate success. The risk would be incurred that the Khond tribes would take opportunities of sacrificing their victims in secret, and if force were employed there would be the same unsatisfactory results as those which attended the Madras Army in the Goomsur Campaign, when the losses and sufferings of the Troops were great in consequence of the insalubrity of the climate.

"These is also a general concurrence of opinion that the efforts of the Government ought to be made under one system and one influential agent; that his coadjutors should conduct their proceedings simultaneously with him, and in subordination to him ; that by thus entrusting to one controlling authority, the management of this difficult undertaking, there will be a better chance of success, than if the authority continue divided, as it has hitherto been, between Bengal and Madras Officers.

"The Governor General in Council is satisfied that this object will be best attained by the formation of an agency extending over the whole tract of country where human sacrifices prevail, which agency shall be under the general guidance of the Government of India.

"The Governor General in Council would propose in the first instance to remove from the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, the estates of Duspullah and Boad, and place them under the jurisdiction and superintendence of Captain Macpherson, as agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices, in the Hill Tracts of Orissa ; that Officer and his subordinates to be guided by the same rules in the all departments of the administration as the Commissioner and Superintendent of Tributary Mehals in Cuttack, and his subordinates would be required respectively to observe in the same limits if they were the local functionaries, except that where persons of the Hill races, or persons identified with the Hill races by residence and customs, are concerned: special rules will be provided by the Governor General in Council for the guidance of the public Officers.

"In like manner the Governor General in Council would remove in the first instance, from the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Collector of Ganjam, exercised by him as Agent to the Governor of Fort St. George under Act XXIV of 1939, the undermentioned tracts of country, viz.

1st—"The Khond tracts included in the assumed Zamindary of Goomsur ;

2nd—"The two Jungle Mootahs of Berecote and Punchgoda in Goomsur ;

3rd—"The whole or so much of the Mootahs of Binjighere and Pareya in Goomsur, as shall conveniently include the chief marts for the Khond produce :

4th—"The assumed Zamindary of Souradah

5th—"The Zamindary of Corodah; and place them under the jurisdiction and superintendence of Captain Macpherson, as Agent for the suppression of Meriah sacrifices, in the Hill tracts of Orissa : that Officer and his subordinates to be guided by the same rules ,in all departments of the administration as the Collector and his subordinates would be required to observe if they were the local functionaries: except that where persons of Hill races, and persons identified with the Hill races by residence and customs, are concerned: special rules will be provided by the Governor General in Council for the guidance of the Public Officers. The difference only in other respects being, that the Khond Agent and his subordinates shall receive the instructions from the Government of India, through the Government of Bengal, in matters in which present functionaries would be guided by the directions and decisions of the latter authority, and by the Government of Fort St. George respectively. It will be convenient that the Agent address to the Bengal Government, all letters on matters connected either with the Madras or the Bengal Territories, of which the supreme Government will take cognizance, and that he receive all orders of the Supreme Government through the Bengal Govern -

ment. Copies of all the correspondence will be transmitted to the Madras Government. The Governor General in Council would not propose immediately to place under Captain Macpherson any portion of the Rajamundry district.

"The number of persons assisting the Chief Agent, appears to the Governor General in Council to be too small. Captain Macpherson's health has on more than one occasion failed: and the establishment should be so organized, that an accident occurring to an individual should not arrest the progress of the experiment.

"In addition to the services of Assistant Surgeon Cadenhead, whom the Governor-General in Council would continue in the Agency as first Assistant, the Governor-General in Council will be prepared to sanction the employment of any other qualified officer available in the Madras establishment. Medical skill is a great desideratum. The Khonds are stated to suffer greatly from the ravages of the small-pox and from blindness, the introduction of vaccination might be extended by native doctors, and as there are only three months out of the twelve, during which their personal services would be required, the Officers might be spared from their ordinary duties during the cool season being liberally remunerated for the short period they would be employed in the Khond country.

"To limit year after year the operations of two or three Officers to the district which each could superintend for three months, would be must detrimental to the success of the plan, where the extent to be operated upon consists of a wild tract of country, of 300 miles in length by 100 miles in breadth.

The Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the European Agents to be placed in charge of districts, should at least consist of five or six well qualified Assistants, each having under him, two or three natives of intelligence and integrity, the whole acting strictly on one plan, laid down in the instructions which will be prepared for their guidance.

"As soon as a Zamindary shall no longer require to be under the Khond Agent, it should be restored to the ordinary

Collector, with precise instructions from the Government that the system which has been found efficacious in reclaiming the Khonds from their sanguinary superstition, and the practice of female infanticide (the extension of which is to go hand in hand with the extinction of human sacrifices), shall continue to be acted upon. Our intercourse with the Khonds would thus be perpetuated, and the risk of a relapse obviated.

"The Governor-General in Council would not recommend the employment of regular sepoys, except in the smallest numbers required for an escort, in attending upon the Officers when they visit their districts.

"As regards the effects to be produced by opening out roads of communication through the country for purpose of traffic, there are not sufficient grounds for expecting any good result by incurring that expense. But it may be advisable to repair the Coorminghia Ghat, the road thence to Sohunpore having been must frequented while it continued open."

APPENDIX—I

A Statement of Total Number of Meriahs Rescued from 1837 to 1854

Places of rescue	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
Goomsur	101	122	223
Boad	181	164	345
Chinna Kimedy	313	353	666
Jeypore	77	116	193
Kalahandi	43	34	77
Patna	2		2
Total	717	789	1506

* Vide Campbell's Narrative, p. 265-266.

APPENDIX—J

Statement of the Settlement of the Meriahs Rescued Between 1837 and 1854*

	Males	Females	Total
Restored to relatives and friends, or given for adoption to persons of character in the plains.	194	148	342
Given in marriage to Khonds and othrrs to suitable condition.	—	267	267
Supporting themselves in public or private service.	53	22	75
Died	69	88	157
Deserted	63	14	77
In Missionary School at Cuttack, Berhampore, and Balasore.	116	84	200
Sattled as cultivators in different villages.	195	111	306
At the Asylum, Sorāda.	27	55	82
Total	717	789	1506

APPENDEX—K

A Khond Song Translated by J.E. Friend-Pereira**

At a time of the great Kiabon (Campbell) Sahib's coming, the country was in darkness it was enveloped in mist.

Having sent paiks to collect the people of the land, they, having surrounded them, caught the Meriah sacrificers.

Having caught Meriah sacrificers, they brought them, and again they went and seized the evil Councillors.

* Vide Ibid, p. 266.

** Vide E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III, p. 380.

Having seen the chains and shackles, the people were afraid; murder and bloodshed were quelled.

Then the land became beautiful, and a certain Mokodella (Macpherson) Sahib came.

He destroyed the lairs of the tigers and bears in the hills and rocks, and taught wisdom to the people.

After the lapse of a month, he built bunglows and schools; and he advised them to learn reading and law.

They learnt wisdom and reading: the acquired silver and gold. Then all the people became wealthy.

APPENDIX—L

A Census Report of a Portion of Infanticidal Tracts of Surada Hills Furnished by Capt. J. MacViccar in 1855*

	Houses	*Men*	*Women*	*Boys*	*Girls*
Tarabadi	73	94	96	Not ascertained	30
Semonibadi	109	155	100	94	52
Yunabadi	74	144	102	45	38
Daringabadi	156	201	139	123	47
Sadubadi	221	317	200	254	84
Bomorobadi	113	172	83	90	37
Kombarobadi	118	95	107	79	29
Addigudi	43	74	40	53	24
Keerapubadi	151	163	131	169	93

Total of 907 male and 434 female children in a population of 1415 male adults and 998 women. At Terungabadi and Mullakabadi, not included above, 53 female children were counted under the age of four years.

* Vide Meriah Reports, p. 64, J. MacViccar, Officiating Agent in the Hills Tracts of Orissa, to the Secretary to the Government of India, May 21, 1855.

APPENDIX—M

Various Statistics of the Infanticidal Tracts of Soorada and Chinna Kimedy Maliahs in 1863*

Soorada

Sl. No.	Names of the districts	No.	Names of the Moothas	No. of villages	No. of houses	No. of Adults Male	No. of Adults Female	No. of children under 6 years old Male	No. of children under 6 years old Female	Total Male	Total Female	Remark
1.	Gholo Dayee	1.	Daudingahbay	10	285	477	237	242	108	719	345	
		2.	Saudoobaudy	5	104	162	80	87	43	249	123	
		3.	Mulkabaudy	8	44	82	39	37	14	119	53	
		4.	Grainbaudy	7	174	278	142	107	39	358	181	
		5.	Koocheepongah	7	95	173	82	85	44	258	126	
		6.	Jeedroobaudy	3	54	96	47	54	29	150	76	
		7.	Moondobaudy	4	(worm-eaten)	163	119	119	62	282	181	
		8.	Puddoonabaudy	3	(worm-eaten)	99	58	57	63	156	121	
		9.	Kakadabaudy	6	(worm-eaten)	143	68	65	54	208	122	
		10.	Peeyobaudy	3	63	118	61	20	31	138	92	
		11.	Joogebaudy	3	45	75	36	26	10	101	45	

*Vide Bd. Procd. Jud (OSA LR Acsn 1853G), Madras Government, pp. 8-9

*(worm-eaten)—This portion of the original document has been destroyed by the worms.

Sl. No.	Names of the districts	No.	Names of the Mootahs	No. of villages	No. of houses	No. of Adults Male	No. of Adults Female	No. of children under 6 years old Male	No. of children under 6 years old Female	Total Male	Total Female	Remark
2.	Pondakhullo	1.	Bramarbaudy	8	(worm-eaten)	132	64	77	21	209	85	
		2.	Koombarbaudy	12	(worm-eaten)	157	78	90	45	247	124	
		3.	Pettodabaudy	5	(worm-eaten)	66	36	44	30	110	96	
		4.	Dokorobaudy	5	(worm-eaten)	104	59	45	37	149	66	
		5.	Kirpoobaudy	28	(worm-eaten)	412	245	297	109	709	354	
		6.	Audeegoody	8	(worm-eaten)	66	35	27	36	93	71	
		7.	Ramanabaudy	2	(worm-eaten)	13	11	2	3	15	14	
		8.	Bussabaudy	4	(worm-eaten)	105	55	15	20	120	75	

Sl. No.	Name of the districts	No.	Names of the Moothas	No. of villages	No. of houses	No. of Adults: Male	No. of Adults: Female	No. of children under 6 years old: Male	No. of children under 6 years old: Female	Total: Male	Total: Female	Remark
3.	Kundamy	1.	Krakabaudy	27	(worm-eaten)	464	214	249	67	710	281	
		2.	Sundingbaudy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Unknown
		3.	Moondobaudy	5	(worm-eaten)	124	60	85	44	209	104	
		4.	Tarabaudy	4	(worm-eaten)	168	75	51	25	219	100	
		5.	Semonobaudy	(worm-eaten)	(worm-eaten)	(worm-eaten)	166	79	46	371	212	
		6.	Laureebaudy	(worm-eaten)	(worm-eaten)	(worm-eaten)	96	31	27	159	123	
				(worm-eaten)	(worm-eaten)	(worm-eaten)	2163	1988	1007	6085	3170	

Chinna Kimedy

1. Sarunghur	1. Seekonobaudy	Unknown
	2. Nokeebaudy	
	3. Butteegaddah	
	4. Jeedoobaudy	
	5. Konadeekiah	
	6. Damesingiah	
	7. Taumoonoobaudy	
	8. Madoobaudy	
2. Gaddapoor	1. Hutty Moondah	
	2. Dungasee	
	3. Goodreegoodah	
	4. Wodomah	
	5. Kosobasah	
	6. Ponosopodro	
	7. Thummemgiah	
	8. Koombarpodro	
	9. Boodeelee	
	10. Muddypongah	
	11. Boodagooda	

Ganjam district, Governor Agent's Circuit Office,
Sooradah, 9th December 1863

G.B. Forbes
Agent to the Governor

Glossary

Abbaya	—A Khond patriarch, village chief.
Abkari	—Excise.
Amala	—A native officer of a revenue or judicial court, or government servant of a subordinate rank.
Amin	—An agent of the Government in the State in charge of collection of revenue.
Anna	—Sixteenth part of a rupee.
Arji	—A petition or humble representation either oral or in writing.
Arria Khonds	—A branch of Khond tribe.
Aswin	—A month in Oriya Calendar.
Bachha	—Calf.
Bahauk	—Title of a Khond priest.
Bahman Pennu	—A local deity of the Khonds.
Bahmundi Pennu	—A local deity of the Khonds.
Baji	—A riotous banquet, or a feast.
Bandri Pennu	—A local deity of the Khonds.
Bararaul	—A Khond deity identified with Goddess Durga of the Oriyas of the plain.
Barking deer	—Cervulus muntjac.
Bauhinia	—A tree.
Beercombo	—Local deity of the Khonds of Ramgiri.
Bella Pennu	—Sun God.
Beng rika	—A Khond commune.
Benniah Khonds	—A branch of Khond tribe.
Bethi	—A form of feudal servitude existed among the Khonds.

Bethiah Khonds	—A branch of Khond tribe.
Bhadrawallu	—Tribal name of Hindu Goddess Parvati.
Bhairavi	—Tribal name of Hindu Goddess Parvati.
Bheel	—A tribe in western India.
Bhmul Pennu	—A local deity of Khonds.
Bhuiya	—A tribal people inhabiting hill tracts of Orissa.
Bhumija	—A tribe in Orissa.
Bikka vela	—Season of harvest.
Bissoi	—Chief of the Khond district.
Bolia Kukura	—One kind of wild dog.
Borgocha	—A Khond commune.
Brahman, Brahmin	—The highest caste of Hindu society.
Brahminy kite	—Haliastur indus (Garuda Pakshi).
Brinjari	—A trading community of Jeypore.
Bulinda Silenda	—A local deity of the Khonds in the district Punchora.
Bura Pennu	—Sun God.
Burbi Pennu	—Gooddess of Sprint.
Burkundauze	—An Indian Police armed with sword and shield or spear who acts as a guard, or escort, or door keeper ; and matchlock man.
Chalta	—A festival in the plains of Orissa.
Chawal Dhuba	—Boiled rice.
Cheetah	—Hunting leopard.
Chhatia	—Village watchman.
Chhattra	—Umbrella.
Choturam	—A wild herb.
Chuprasee	—A peon or an office messenger.
Cirkar	—Government.
Cole	—A tribal people inhabiting the hill tracts of Orissa.
Conda—tamara tree	—Smilax macrophylla.
Cutcherry	—A court, an office.
Dahi	—A method of cultivation practised by

	the Khonds
Dal	—A kind of been used as food.
Dalbehera	—Military authority of a Khond district.
Dondaka	—The hill tract extending from the Vindhya hills to the river Krishna.
Dangeniddu	—Dormitory of a Khond village.
Danzu Pennu	—Moon God.
Dasahara	—A religious festival of the Hindus to worship the Goddess Durga, which falls in October.
Dehuri	—A Khond priest.
Deka	—A musical instrument of the Khonds.
Dela Pari	—A Khond commune.
Delli Katani Gati	—A knotted string.
Desari, Desauri	—Astrologer of the Khond tribe.
Deshiya Khonds, Desiah Khonds	—A branch of Khond tribe.
Desc	—Country.
Dhangada, Dhangadi	—A dancing place or house (dormitory) of Khond village where young men and maidens used to meet.
Dharmu Pennu	—Goddess of Small pox.
Dhurma	—The Judge of the Dead is called Dhurma by the Khonds of Kalahandi
Diguloo	—A paid village watcher, interpreter.
Dinga Pennu	—Judge of the Dead.
Diwan	—Principal minister of the State.
Dom, Domb	—A lower class Hindu.
Domosinghiani	—A tutelary God of the district of Domosinghi.
Dongiria Khonds	—A branch of Khond tribe
Donka	—Little gourd cup.
Dungari Pennu	—God of status quo.
Durga, Doorgah	—A Goddess of Hindus.
Fakir	—Religious mendicant.
Gadi	—Throne, Raised seat reserved for princes.

Gadjat States	—Tributary States of Orissa.
Gaduthuva	—A Khond ceremony of naming the child.
Gajapati	—The name of a dynasty which ruled over Orissa from A.D. 1435-1568; The rulers of this dynasty are also called Gajapatis.
Ganga	—Name of a ruling dynasty of Medieval Orissa.
Garh	—A hill fort, a mud fort.
Gari Pennu	—God of Birth.
Gaur	—Herdsman.
Ghasia	—Grass-cutter.
Ghat, Ghaut	—Hill ranges.
Ghatal	—A family title of the Khonds,
Goberi Pennu	—God of the dung-hill
Gochi	—Exogamous sept of the Khonds.
Gond	—A low caste Hindu.
Gonti	—The bride-price paid by Khond bridegroom to the parents of the bride.
Goorboneshanny	—A local deity of the Khonds in Ramgiri.
Gosain	—Religious beggar.
Gossa Pennu	—God of Forest.
Gota	—The place where the village cattle are collected before they are taken out to graze for the day.
Goti	—A kind of debt slavery.
Gram Seni	—Tutelary demon in a Khond village of Khondmals.
Grippa Valli	—Leaping Rock.
Gudi	—Sitting room of Khond house.
Gumasta	—An officer appointed by the Raja to keep the account of the collection of revenue; Also a clerk or writer for vernacular correspondence.
Hansari	—Wild duck.
Haree, Hari	—A low caste Hindu, a sweeper.
Harra	—Hot season.

Hat —Market.
Illupai —Bassia.
Ippa —A tree, Bassia Latifolia.
Irpi vela —The time when ploughing is started.
Ishta Devi —Family Goddess.
Jackeri, Jackora, Jakeri —A Khond priest in the western district of Khond tracts.
Jaistha —A month in Oriya Calender.
Jakeri Pennu, Jenkery Pennu —A Khond deity.
Jak tree —Artocarpus integrifolia.
Jambul —Eugenia Jambolana.
Jani, Jauni —Astrologer or priest of the Khond tribe.
Jatapu Khonds —A branch of the Khond tribe.
Jati —Race.
Jatra —Fair, festival.
Jay —Indian roller, Coracias indica.
Jemadar —Native Police Officer.
Jhum —A method of cultivation practised by the Khonds.
Joba —Earthen pot.
Johari —A priest.
Jomba —Block of wood used as a stool.
Jori Pennu —God of Stream.
Juang —A tribal people inhabiting the hill tracts of Orissa.
Jueli —Yoke.
Jugah Pennu —God of small-pox.
Jungle —Uncultivated ground, forest.
Junna —Meriah victim in Ramgiri taluk was called Junna.
Kachharia Khonds —Khonds found in Kalahandi State and cultivators by profession.
Kadam —A kind of tree.
Kado —Muddy water.
Kaheli —A kind of cigar used by the Khonds.
Kalea Pari —A Khond commune.

Kali	—A Goddess of the Hindus.
Kandas	—In Tamil 'Kandas' means a hill.
Kandra	—An arrow.
Kankali	—A local God of the Khonds in the district of Punchora.
Kedu laka	—Buffalo sacrifice.
Kelka	—Kingfisher.
Kepa	—Witchcraft.
Khanda	—In Oriya, Khanda means sword.
Khogo	—One kind of wild dog.
Khond, Kond, Kondh	—A class of wild tribes.
Khondmal	—It is the area inhabited by the Khonds, a principal tribe of Orissa, now in Phulbani district.
Khondooloo	—In Telugu, Khondooloo means mountaineer.
Khonro	—Khond chief was termed as Khonro in Baud.
Kikoka	—Horse.
Kiramal, Kyamal	—John Campbell who played a major role in suppressing Meriah sacrifice.
Ko	—Mountain.
Koaloka	—Arrows.
Kodulu Vandlu, Kodu Vandlu	—The Khonds, in Oriya Khond loko.
Koinga, Kwinga	—A corruption of Kulinga meaning barbarian.
Kol, Cole	—A tribal people inhabiting the hill tracts of Orissa.
Komeswari	—The tribal name of Hindu Goddess Parvati.
Konda	—Hillock.
Kondacorri	—Hill sheep.
Konda Dora	—A tribe in Vizagapatam.
Khonda Kapu	—A tribe in Vizagapatam.
Konjaka	—Monkey.
Kotuvandlu	—A tribe in Vizagapatam.
Kotyo Kodulu	—A Khond community of the south.

Ku	—Mountain.
Kui, Kuvi	—These are the terms used to signify the speech of the Khond people.
Kuinga	—Plural form of Kui
Kula	—Winnowing-fan
Kulta	—A Hindu agricultural caste of Sambalpur, Kalahandi and neighbourbood.
Kulthi	—One type of dal.
Kumbhar	—Potters.
Kupi	—Small earthen vessel.
Kurmus	—Kurmus are believed to be earliest settlers, of the Khondmals.
Kuta-gattanju	—Sorcerer.
Kuthchery	—Court, Office.
Kutraki	—Wild goats.
Kuttagottaru	—The priests of the Khonds in Ghumsar and the northern part of Baud.
Kuttia Khonds	—The wild and distinctive tribe living in the remote mountains to the north-west of Ganjam.
Laha Pennu, Loha Pennu	—Iron God, God of Arms or War God of the Khonds.
Languti	—Loin cloth.
Lohar	—Ironsmith.
Madda	—Funeral ceremony of the Khonds
Mahal	—The state of tributary king.
Mahalik	—Civil manager of a Khond district.
Maha vela	—The time when rice crop is sown.
Mahua, Mohwa Tree	—Bassia latifolia.
Mahul Jatra	—A Khond festival.
Maji	—A Khond chief in Chinna Kimedy.
Makmel, Makman	—S.C. Macpherson who played a major role in suppressing Meriah sacrifice.
Mal, Maliah, Malo	—Highlands.
Mala Ita Kalu	—Liquor for leaving the bride-price.
Maliah Khonds	—A branch of Khond tribe.
Mali tobga kalu	—Liquor for the wearing of the engagement chain.

Mallik, Mallika	—A Khond chief in Ghumsar.
Malua Khonds	...A branch of Khond tribe.
Mandinga	—Earthen pot.
Manikeswar	—The God of War for the Khonds of Jeypore.
Manikeswari	—Goddess Durga is worshipped in the name of Manikeswari by both Khonds and Oriyas.
Manjhi	—A Khond chief.
Manna	—A tree.
Meriah	—A name generally applied to the victims and hence to the human sacrifices of the Khonds.
Mraun Boji	—Daugher's feast.
Mrivi Pennu	—A Khond deity.
Mula Seri	—Bethrothal.
Munda	—A tribe.
Munda Pennu	—Tank God.
Munsif	—A judge in the civil court.
Mutha, Moota	—A group of villages, A subdivision of a zamindary.
Naik	—Military authority of a Khond district.
Naramedha	—Human sacrifice prevailed among the Aryans.
Narasingha	—Narasingha means a man-lion and is one of Vishnu's incarnations.
Nazu Pennu	—Village God.
Nilgai	—Boslaphus tragocamelus.
Nuzzer	—A tribute, offering.
Ods, Odras	—A race of cultivators who had come from the south to the plains of Orissa.
Olua	—A plant.
Oraon	—A tribe.
Paik	—Native soldier.
Pona, Paño, Pan	—A man of a low caste.
Pankha	—A portable fan, generally made from the leaf of Palmyra..

Panthi Durga Ma	—In Khondmals the Khonds used to worship Hindu deity Durga in the name of 'Panthi Durga Ma'.
Pariah	—A low caste of Hindus.
Parvati	—A Hindu Goddess.
Patarghar	—A local deity of Khonds.
Pat Maji	—Mutha chief of Kuttia Khonds.
Patmanjhi	—The eldest member of a Khond family
Patro, Patra	—Oriya chief of a district in the hill tracts of Orissa.
Peja	—Guel of rice.
Penni	—Cold season.
Pennu	—Khonds call their God and Goddess as Pennu.
Patrilu	—Ancestors.
Pidori Pitta	—Ancestor.
Pidzu pennu	—God of rain.
Pie .	—1/3 of a pice or 1/12 of an anna.
Piju dua	—Rainy season.
Pilamu Pennu	—God of Hunting.
Pilla	—Boy.
Pinjai	—A local deity of the Khonds.
Pipal tree	—Fig tree.
Pitabaldi	—A local deity of the Khonds signifying 'Great Father God'.
Pitteri Pennu	—God of Increase and Gain.
Pongol	—A festival of southern India
Poronja	—Penalty in Khond community.
Possiah	—A Meriah female and her offspring by a Khond, who adopts them as wife and children.
Possiapoes	—Serfs who were in the hands of the Khonds.
Puja, Poojah	—Worship.
Pujari	—Priest or worshipper
Pulinda	—A barbarian
Pulto Bagho	—Among Khonds who acquires power of changing themselves into tiger is called Pulto Bagho.

Punji —A palm-leaf manuscript used by astrologer to study the future.

Raha —Front courtyard.

Raja, Rajah —King; this term was also applied to petty chiefs or big zamindars.

Raj Khonds —A division of Khonds usually land proprietors who considered themselves superior to other sections.

Sago Palm —Caryota urens.

Saheb, Sahib —Sir, Gentleman.

Sal Tree —Shorea Robusta.

Sambar —Wild deer, Cervus unicolor.

Sanad —Imperial Firman.

Sandhi Pennu —God of Limits and Boundaries.

Santal —A tribe.

Sardar —A chief, a commander, a leader.

Sari —Women's garment.

Sarkar, Sirkar —The Government.

Sarta —Palm, in Khond language.

Saru —A plant.

Saru Pennu —God of Mountain.

Sebundies —Irregular native soldiers, a sort of militia imperfectly disciplined troops of revenue or Police duties.

Seer —It was Indian dominations of weight varying widely in different parts of the country. It was generally equivalent to 80 tolas.

Semi —Country beans.

Semi Jatra —A Khond festival.

Sepoy —A soldier of India, disciplined and dressed in European style.

Seri dahpa —Custom of searching bride in Khond society.

Seri dahpa gataru —Searchers for the bride.

Seri Kangari —Custom of watching the bride.

Seri mala —Bride-price.

Seri mala tuhpa —Leaving of the bride-price.

Seri sura —Custom of seeing of bride.
Shaman —Medicine-man, astrologer in tribal community.
Sidruju Pennu —God of Fountains.
Sidu Pari —A Khond commune.
Simili —Silk Cotton tree.
Sing Pennu —God of Destruction or Tiger-God.
Sitala —A village Goddess of the Khonds in Nayagarh State.
Site Kalu —Liquor for the go-between during marriage negotiation in Khond society.
Sitenju —The marriage broker.
Sittaras —The Sittaras manufacture the ornaments worn by the Khonds.
Siva —A Hindu God.
Skandha —In Sanskrit, Skandha means shoulder.
Skandh-Asuras —Skandh-Asuras known to have ruled over the forest of Dandaka.
Sokeni —Leaf-cup
Sorumba —Priests of the Khonds in Ghumsar and the northern part of Baud are called Sorumba.
Sourah —A tribe.
Sowcar —Money-lender.
Sugu Pennu —God of Fountains.
Sujinara Palla —Ceremony of divination in Khond society.
Sulias Brahmandei —A village Goddess of the Khonds in Nayagarh State.
Sundi —Distiller.
Tadi —Formented juice of a Palm tree.
Tahsildar —The chief native revenue officer.
Taluk, Taluq —An estate, applied to a tract of proprietary land usually smaller than a zamindary although sometimes confounded with a zamindary.
Tamasha —Festivity.

Tambi	—A standard of measure.
Targi	—Axe.
Tapa seri	—Khond marriage
Tari	—Earth Goddess.
Tarkel	—A village Goddess of the Khonds in Nayagarh State.
Tat Raja	—The local zamindar in southern Orissa styled themselves as Tat Raja in the 19th Century.
Thakurani	—Goddess.
Tika	—Blood-spot on the forehead
Tinki Khonds	—Khonds inhabited in Kerandi or Mchiri Hills of Ganjam
Tin Pari	—A Khond commune.
Tispu gati	—Present that was fed.
Toomba	—A Khond child who performed the worship of Earth Goddess for human sacrifice.
Tooras	—The Khond boys in Jeypore are called Tooras.
Toorees	—The Khond girls of Jeypore are called Toorees.
Topaka Saru	—Mountain deity of Kuttia Khonds.
Tulsi	—A plant.
Tummeca Tree	—Acacia arabica.
Turki Pennu	—God of Dust heap.
Valli	—Hill.
Varuna	—A Hindu deity.
Veranda, Verandah	—A space in front of the house where the men and women used to sit.
Vinka	—White ants.
Vis	—A measurement.
Yogi	—Holy medicant.
Yama	—God of the Death, in Hinduism.
Zekeree Pennu	—A Khond deity.

Zamindar —A landlord; a proprietor directly responsible to the state for the revenue of the land he possesses.

Zamindary, Zemindari—The tract of land constituting the possession of a zamindar.

Bibliography

PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Manuscript Sources

(A) At Orissa State Archives, Bhubaneswar

(i) *Board of Revenue Records*
Board Proceedings, Revenue, 1803-1900.
Board Proceedings, Judicial, 1806-1901.
Board of Revenue, Loose Correspondences (Revenue, Judicial, Political, Education), 1804-1900.

(ii) *Bengal Presidency Loose Records*
Revenue, 1867-1900; Judicial, 1858-1900; Judicial (Police), 1868-1906; Political, 1848-1900; Education, 865-1900.

(iii) *Madras Presidency Loose Recoras*
Revenue, 1859-1990; Judicial, 1859-1900; Political, 1859-1900; Education, 1865-1900.

(iv) *District Records* (*Revenue, Judicial, Political, Education*)
Ganjam, 1802-1900; Koraput, 1777-1900; Kalahandi, 1887-1900; Dhenkanal, 1847-1900: Bolangir, 1860-1900; Phulbagi, 1859-1900; Puri, 1803-1900.

(v) Files of Ganjam Collectorate, Chatrapur, 1817-1903.

(vi) Oriental Records Regarding Settlement, Khond Meli and Boundary dispute etc. of Puri District, 1803-1900.

(vii) Reports and Letters relating to Daspalla State.

(B) At West Bengal State Archives, Calcutta; Tamil Nadu State Archives, Madras, National Archives, New Delhi

Board Proceedings, Revenue, 1803-1900.
Board Proceedings, Judicial, 1803-1900.

(C) At the library of Anthropolical Survey of India, Calcutta

Survey Papers and Reports on the Khond tribe of Orissa.

2. Printed Sources

(A) Selections from Government and Missionary Publications, Records and Reports

A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds relating to Indian and Neighbouring countries, Edited by C.U. Aitchison, Vols. I-V. (Calcutta, 1862-1864).

A Handbook of the Bihar and Orissa Provincial Records, 1771-1859 (Patna, 1933).

Annual Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Province of Orissa, Vol. I, by S.L. Maddox (Calcutta, 1900)

Baptist Missionary Society Reports, 1853-1877, 1884-1900.

Baptist Missionary Society Quarterly Papers, 1822-1845.

Bengal Manuscript Records, A selected list of 14,136 Letters in the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, 1782-1807 by W.W. Hunter (Ed.), 4 volumes (London, 1894).

Correspondence regarding the Comparative merits of British and Native Administration in India (Calcutta, 1867)

Experiments in Primary Education in Orissa Feudatory States, by H. Dippie (Calcutta, 1928).

Final Report on the Survey and Settlement of the Province of Orissa, 1890-1900, Vol. II, by S.L. Maddox (Calcutta, 1900).

Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operation in the Khondmal Sub-division, 1921-25 (Patna, 1926).

General Report on Public Instruction in the Lower Provinces of Bengal Presidency, 1851-1900, 50 volumes.

General Review of administration of Feudatory States of Orissa and Chhotanagpur for the year 1922-23.

Infanticide (India), Return to an order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 21 June 1843; for all copies of Extracts of all Communications received since the last returns presented to Parliament to the practice of Infanticide in India (Printed, August 24, 1843).

Lieut. Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack (Printed, Calcutta, 1842).

Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency—Yearly Administration Report, Vol. II (Madras, 1885).

Manual of Standing Information for the Madras Presidency, 1893 (Madras, 1893)

Papers relating to the aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces—Left in MSS by Stephen Hislop, Edited by R. Temple (Nagpore, 1866)

Quarterly Missionary Papers, 1825-1861.

Report of the Council of Education (1842-1851), 10 Volumes.

Report of the General Committee of Public Instruction of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal 1835-1911, 9 Volumes.

Reports of the Merian Agents (Ganjam) from 1837 to 1861 (Printed, Madras, 1885).

Report on Goomsur Zamindary, by J.A R. Stevenson (Madras, 1916).

Report on the Districts of Midnapur and Cuttack by Henry Ricketts (Calcutta, 1858).

Report on Land Tenures and the Revenue system of Orissa and Chhatisgarh by R.K. Ramdhyani, Vols. I-II (Howrah, 1949)

Report on the Progress of Education in the Orissa Tributary States.

Reports on the State of Education in Bengal, 1835-1838 by William Adam, Edited by Anathnath Basu (University of Calcutta, 1941).

Report on the Zamindaries and other Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces, 1863, by Richard Temple (Reprint, 1908).

Selections from Education Records, Part I, 1781-1839, Edited by H. Sharp (Calcutta, 1920)

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government No. III, Papers on the Settlement of Cuttack and on the State of the Tributary Mehals (1847), by A.J.M. Mills (Printed, 1867)

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government No. XX, Papers relating to the South West Frontier comprising Reports on Purulia, Manbhum, Chhotanagpur, Subdivision

of Khurda, Hazareebag and Sumbulpore, by Henry Ricketts (Calcutta, 1855).

Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XXIII, Papers relating to some Frontier Tribes on the North East border of Assam, Topographical Report on Raigarh, Sonepur and Sumbulpore by J. Shortt (Calcutta Gazetteer Office, 1855)

Selections from the Records of the Government of India (Home Department, No. V), Part I, II and III, History of Rise and Progress of the operations for the suppression of Human Sacrifice and Female Infanticide in Hill Tracts of Orissa, 1836-1854 (Calcutta, 1854).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Reports on the Disturbances in Purla Kimedy, Vizagapatam and Goomsoor. 1832-36 by G.E. Russell, 2 Volumes (Fort St. George Gazette Press, 1856).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, A Collection and Precis of Papers about Jeypore, No LXXXI (Madras, 1864).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. VIII, Reports on District Roads from 1853 (Madras, 1855).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XVII, Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1854-55 (Madras, 1856).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. LXIX, Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1859-60 (Madras, 1860).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1860-61 (Madras, 1861).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1861-62 (Madras, 1862).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No. XI, Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1867-68 (Madras, 1868).

Selections from the Records of the Madras Government, No.

XV, Report on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1868-69 (Madras, 1869).

Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. LIV, Note on the state of education in India during 1865-66, by A.M. Monteath (Calcutta, 1867).

Selections of Papers from the Records at the East India House relating to the Revenue, Police, Civil and Criminal Justice under the Company's Government in India, Vols. I-IV (London, 1820-26).

States' Enquiry Committee Report (Cuttack, 1939).

The Feudatory and Tributary States of the Orissa Division and the Rules applicable to them, Part I and II (Calcutta, 1907).

Village Directory of the Presidency of Bengal, Vol. XLV. Tributary States of Chhotanagpur and Orissa (Calcutta, 1888).

(B) Books, Gazetteers, and Manuals

Birth, A., The Religions of India, Translated by J. Wood (Ist Pub 1881, Reprint, London, 1921).

Browne, John Cave, Indian Infanticide, its Origin, Progress and Suppression (London, 1857).

Buckland, C.T., Sketches of Social Life in India (London, 1844).

Campbell, G., Memoir of My Indian Career, 2 volumes (London, 1893).

Campbell, John, A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Suppression of Human Sacrifices (London, 1864).

Capper, John, The Three Presidencies of India (London, 1853).

Carmichael, D.F., Manual of District the of Vizagapatam in the Presidency of Madras (Madras, 1869).

Carmichael, D.F., Central Provinces Gazetteer (Nagpur, 1870).

Colebrooke, J.E., Digest of Bengal Regulations, 3 volumes (Calcutta, 1807).

Crooke, Wm., The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills (London, 1899).

Dalton, E.T., Tribal History of Eastern India (Original title Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Pub 1872) (Reprint, Delhi, 1973).

Dubois, Abbe J.A., Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies, Translated and edited with notes, correction, and biography by H. Beauchamp (Third Edition, 1906, Reprint, Oxford, 1953).

Duff, Alexander, India and India Missions (Ist Pub 1839, Reprint, Edinburg).

Frye, J.P., Primer and Progressive Reading Lessons in the Khond Language (Cuttack, 1851).

Hamilton, Walter, A Geographical, Statistical and Historical Description of Hindostan and its adjacent countries, 2 volumes (London, 1820).

Hamilton, Walter, East India Gazetteer of Hindostan and the adjacent countries (London, 1815).

Harington, J.H., An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council at Fort William, 3 volumes (Calcutta, 1805-1807).

Howell, A.P., Education in British India (Calcutta, 1872).

Hunter, W.W., Annals of Rural Bengal (London, 1868).

Hunter, W.W. A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vols. XVIII-XIX (London, 1877).

Hunter, W.W., England's Work in India (London, 1881).

Hunter, W.W., Orissa, 2 volumes (London, 1872).

Hunter, W.W., The Imperial Gazetteer of India (2nd Edition. London. 1885).

Kaye, John William, India, Ancient and Modern (London, 1867).

Kaye, John William, Christianity in India, A Historical Narrative (London, 1859).

Kaye, John William, The Administration of the East India Company, A story of Indian Progress (Ist Pub London, 1853, Indian Reprint. Allahabad, 1966).

Kerr, J., The Domestic Life, Character, Customs of the Natives of India (London, 1865).

Latham, R G., Ethnology of India (London, 1859).

Laurie, William F.B., Orissa the Garden of Superstition and Idolatry (London, 1850).

Macleane, C.D., Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 2 Volumes (Madras, 1885).

Macleane, C.D., Standing Information of the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1879).

Macpherson, William (Ed.), Memorials of Service in India from the correspondence of the Late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson (London, 1865).

Maltby, T.J., The Ganjam District Manual, Edited by G.D. Leman (Reprint, Madras, 1918).

Marshman, John Clark, The History of India, Vol. II (London, 1867).

Moor, Edward (Ed.), Hindu Infanticide, An Account of the measures adopted for suppressing the practice of the systematic murder by their parents of female infants (London, 1811).

Moor, Edward, The Hindu Pantheon (Ist Pub London, 1810, Indian Reprint, New Delhi, 1981).

Peggs, James, A History of the General Baptist Mission (London, 1846).

Peggs, James, India's Cries to British Humanity (London, 1830).

Peggs, James, The Present State of Infanticide in India (London, 1844).

Risley, H.H., The Tribes and Castes, of Bengal, 2 Volumes (Calcutta, 1892).

Rowney, H.B., The Wild Tribes of India (Ist Pub : London, 1882, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1974).

Stirling, A., An Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical) of Orissa Proper or Cuttack (Ist Pub 1822, Reprint, Calcutta, 1904).

Sullivan, John, Observations respecting the Circar of Maxulipatam in a letter to the Court of Directors of the East India Company (London, 1780).

Sutton, A., Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Mission at Orissa (London, 1833).

Sutton, A. Orissa and its Evangelization (London, 1850).

Swell, Robert. Archaeological Survey of South India (Madras, 1882).

Taylor, H.D. (Ed.), Memoir on the Ganjam Malihas in the Madras Presidency (Madras, 1847).

Temple, Richard, Men and Events of My time in India (London, 1882).

Temple Richard, The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide, and Gazetteer, Vols. I-II (Calcutta, 1841).

Thornton, Edward, Gazetteer of the terrritories under the Government of East India Company and of the Native States on the continent of India, 4 volumes (London, 1854).

Thornton, Edward, The History of the British Empire in India, Vol. V (London, 1843).

Toynbee, G., A Sketch of the History of Orissa 1803-1828 (Calcutta, 1873).

Tylor, Edward, B., Primitive Culture, 2 volumes (Ist Pub : 1871, Reprint, London, 1891).

Ward, W., History, Religion and Literature of the Hindoos, Vol. I (Ist Pub 1817, Reprint, Calcutta, 1895).

Wheeler, J.T., Early Records of the British India, A History of the English Settlements in India (Delhi, 1772).

Wilson, C., The Early Annals of the English in Bengal, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1895).

Wilson, John, History of the Suppression of Infanticide in Western India (Bombay, 1855).

(C) **Periodicals**

Bengal Past and Present (Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society).

Calcutta Christian Observer.

Friend of India (A Missionary Monthly Journal).

Indian Antiquary (A Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, History, Literature, Languages, Philosophy, Religion, Folklore, etc., Published by Education Society's Press, Byculla, Bombay).

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

Madras Mail.

Missionary Herald.

The Asiatic Review (Founded in 1886, Published Quarterly by East and West Limited, West Minister Chambers, 3 Victoria Street, London, S.W.I.)

The Calcutta Review (An illustrated monthly published by the University of Calcutta).

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science (Published under the auspices of the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society).

Utkal Dipika (Founded in 1866 by Gouri Sankar Ray at Cuttack).

SECONDARY SOURCES

(A) Government Publications, Reports, Manuals and Gazetteers

Angul District Gazetteers Statistics, 1900-1901 to 1910-1911 (Patna 1915)

A note on Historical, Socio-economic studies in India (Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, 1977).

Bell, R.C.S., Orissa Dirtrict Gazetteers, Koraput (Calcutta, 1945).

Bengal District Gazetteer, Midnapore (Calcutta, 1911)

Census of India, 1931, Vol. I

Central Provinces Gazetteer (Nagpur, 1911).

Chapters of standard Information taken from the Bengal Administration Report from 1901-1902 (Calcutta, 1905).

Chopra P.N. (Ed.), The Gazetteer of India, Vols. I-II, (Government of India, 1973).

Cobden-Ramsay, L.E.B., Bengal Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa (Reprint, Howrah, 1950).

Francis, W., Madras District Gazetteers, Vizagapatam (Madras, 1915).

Ganjam District Gazetteers, 3 Volumes (Madras, 1907).

Grierson, G.A. (Ed.), Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV (Calcutta, 1906).

Guide to the Records of the Ganjam District from 1774 to 1835 (Madras, 1934).

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, Bengal, Vols. I-II (Calcutta, 1905).

Madras Census Report, 1901, Vol. I.

O' Malley, L.S.S., Bengal District Gazetteers, Angul (Calcutta, 1908).

O' Malley, L.S.S., Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Cuttack (Patna, 1933).

O' Malley, L.S.S., Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Puri (Ist Pub: 1908, Revised Edition by P.T. Mansfield, Patna, 1929).

O' Malley, L.S.S., Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers, Sambalpur (Ist Edition 1909, Second Edition by F.C. King, Patna, 1932).

Orissa Tributary States Gazetteers Statistics, 1901-1902 (Calcutta, 1905).

Puri District Gazetteer Statistics, 1900-1901 to 1910-1911 (Patna, 1915).

Reports of the Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee, Orissa, 1940 (Cuttack, 1940).

Risley, H. H. and Gait, E.A., Census of India, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1908).

Senapati, N., (Ed.), Gazetteers of India, Orissa Bolangir (Cuttack, 1968).

Senapati, N., (Ed.), Gazetteers of India, Orissa, Sundergarh (Govt. of Orissa, 1975).

Senapeti, N., (Ed.), Orissa State Gazetteers, Dhenkanal (Cuttack, 1972).

Senapati, N, (Ed), Orissa State Gazetteers, Puri (Govt. of Orissa, 1977).

Senapati, N., (Ed), Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput (Cuttack, 1966)

The Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, Vol. V (Delhi,——)

(B) Books

Anderson, J.D., The People of India (Cambridge, 1913).

Bailey, F.G., Caste and Economic Frontier (Oxford, 1958).

Bailey, F.G., Politics and Social Change, Orissa in 1959 (University of California Press, 1963).

Bailey, F.G., Tribe, Caste and Nation (Bombay, 1960).

Baines, Athelstane, Ethonography, Castes and Tribes (Strassburg, 1912).

Baird, Robert D., (Ed.), Religion in Modern India (New Delhi, 1981).

Balfour, Arthur James, The Foundations of Belief (London, 1895).

Banerjee, R.D., History of Orissa, 2 Volumes (Calcutta, 1929-30).

Banerjee, Sukumar, Ethnographic Study of the Kuvi Kandha (Calcutta, 1961).

Basham, A.L., (Ed.), A Cultural History of India (Oxford, 1975).

Basham, A.L., The Wonder That was India (New York, 1952).

Bearce, G.D., British Attitude towards India, 1784-1858 (Oxford, 1861).

Behera, D., Freedom Movement in the State of Ghumsar in Orissa (Calcutta, 1984).

Behera, D., The Bhanjas and the Khonds of Orissa (Calcutta, 1987).

Bhowmick, P.K., Socio-cultural Profile of Frontier Bengal (Calcutta, 1976).

Boal, Barbara M., Fire is Easy The Tribal Christian and his Traditional Culture (Manila and Bangalore, 1973).

Boal, Barbara M., The Konds (Warminster, 1982).

Boas, Franz, The Mind of Primitive Man (New York. 1946).

Boas, F., Race, Language and Culture (New York, 1948).

Bose, Nemai Sadhan, The Indian Awakening and Bengal (Reprint, Calcutta, 1969).

Bose, P.N., A History of Hindu Civilization During British Rule, Vol. II (Ist Pub 1894, Reprint, Delhi, 1978).

Bossert, Jeannette, India—Land, People and Culture (Delhi, 1974).

Bouquet, A.C. Hinduism (London, 1948).

Buckland, C.E. Bengal under Lieutenant Governors, 2 Volumes (Calcutta, 1901).

Campbell, C.G., Race and Religion (Reprint, London, 1954)

Carey, S. Pearce, Dawn on the Kond Hills (London, 1936).

Carrighar, Sally, Wild Heritage (London, 1965).

Chakraberty, C., The Racial History of India (Calcutta,—).

Chapman, J.A., The Character of India (Oxford, 1928).

Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, Tribalism in India (New Delhi, 1978).

Crawley, A.E., The Idea of the Soul (London, 1909).

Crawford (Ed.), Castes and Tribes employed in Tea Estates in N.E. India (Calcutta, 1924).

Das, M.N., Studies in Economic and Social Development of Modern India, 1846-56 (Calcutta, 1959).

Dastur, Aloo J., Man and His Environment (Bombay, 1954).

Datta, K.K., Social History of Modern India (Delhi, 1975).

Davies, C. Colin, A Historical Atlas of the Indian Peninsula (London, 1959).

De, S C., Guide to Orissan Records, 4 Volumes, (Bhubaneswar, 1961).

Durant, Will, The Story of Civilization, Vol. IV (New York, 1950).

Durkheim, E., The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (New York, 1967).

Dutta, Shoshee Chunder, The Wild Tribes of India (London, 1884)

Elwin, Verrier, A brief Survey of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Districts of Ganjam and Koraput (Cuttack, 1946).

Elwin, Verrier, Maria Murder and Suicide (Oxford University Press, 1943).

Elwin, Verrier, The Religion of an Indian Tribe (Bombay, 1955).

Elwin, Verrier, The Tribal World (Oxford University Press, 1964).

Elwin, Verrier, The Kingdom of the Young (Oxford University Press, 1968).

Elwin, Verrier, Tribal Myths of Orissa (Oxford University Press, 1954).

Elwin, Verrier, The Tribal Art of Middle India (Oxford University Press, 1951).

Febvre, Lucien, A Geographical Introduction to History (London, 1925).

Ferreira, John V., Totemism in India (Oxford University Press, Bombay, 1965).

Fraser, Andrew H.L., Among Indian Rajahs and Ryots (Reprint, Allahbad, 1975).

Frazer, J.G., The Golden Bough, A Study in Magic and Religion, Vol. I (Ist Pub : 1922. Reprint, New York, 1953).

Frazer, J.G., Questions on the Customs, Beliefs and Languages of Savages (Cambridge, 1907).

Frazer, R W , British India (Ist Pub ; 1896, Reprint, New Delhi, 1974).

Furer-Haimendorf, Christoph Von, Tribes of India (Delhi, 1982).

Gardner, Brian, The East India Company (London, 1971).
Ghurye, G.S., Caste and Race in India (London, 1932).
Gordon, D.H., The Historic Background of Indian Culture (Bombay, 1958).
Greenberger, Allen J., The British Image of India (London 1969).
Gupta, Giri Raj, (Ed.), Religion in Modern India (New Delhi, 1983).
Hartland, E.S., Primitive Paternity, 2 Volumes (London, 1910).
Hooke, S.H., Myth and Ritual (Oxford, 1933).
Hopkins, E. Washburn, India Old and New (New York, 1901).
Hurvey, Charless, Some Records of Crime, Vol. I (London, 1892).
Hunter, Stirling. Beams and Sahu, A History of Orissa, 2 Volumes (Calcutta, 1956).
Hunter, W.W., The Marquess of Dalhousie and the final Development of the Company's rule (Oxford, 1895).
Huntington, Ellsworth, Civilisation and Climate (Ist Pub : 1915, Reprint, New Haven, 1948).
Hutton, J.H., Caste in India (Reprint, Bombay, 1950).
James, E.O., Comparative Religion (Reprint, London, 1961).
James, E.O., Origins of Sacrifice (London, 1933).
James, E.O., Sacrifice and Sacrament (Reprint, London, 1962).
James, E.O., The Nature and Function of the Priesthood (London, 1955).
James, H.R., Education and Statesmanship in India (Bombay, 1917).
Jena, K.C., Socio-economic Condition of Orissa, During 19th Century (Delhi, 1978).
Kapadia, K.M., Marriage and Family in India (Cambridge, 1955).
Lacey, Robert Lee, Faith and Life in India (London,——).
Lacey, Robert Lee, The Holy of the Hindus (London, 1913).
Lang, Andrew, The Making of Religion (London, 1898).
Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India (Poona, 1943).
Lowie, R.H., Primitive Society (English Edition,——).
Lowie, R.H., Primitive Religion (New York, 1924).

Lawrence, Walter Roper, The India We Served (London, 1928).

Lyall, Alfred C., Asiatic Studies, Religious and Social, 2 Volumes (Ist Pub ; Vol. I, 1882: Vol. II, 1899, Indian Reprint, New Delhi, 1976).

Lyall, Alfred C., The Rise and Expansion of the British Dominion in India (Ist Pub : 1891, Indian Reprint, New Delhi, 1973).

Mahatab, H.K., (Ed.), History of the Freedom Movements in Orissa, 5 Volumes (Cuttack, 1957-59)

Mahatab, H.K., Odissa Bidrohara Samkhipta Itihasa, 1803-19_0, In Oriya (Bhubaneswar,).

Majumdar, D.N., Races and Culture of India (Reprint, Bombay, 1965).

Majumdar, R.C., Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century (Calcutta, 1960).

Majumdar, R.C., The Age of Imperial Kanauj (Reprint, Bombay, 1984).

Malinowski, Bronislaw, Crime and Custom in Savage Society (Ist Pub 1926, Reprint, London, 1970).

Malinowski, Bronislaw, Magic, Science and Religion and other Essays (New York, 1958).

Mazumdar, B.C., The Aborigines of the Highlands of Central India (Calcutta, 1927).

Mishra, B.B., Administrative History of India (Oxford University Press, 1970).

Mishra, P.K., Political Unrest in Orissa in the 19th Century (Calcutta, 1983).

Mitra, Rajendra Lal, The Antiquities of Orissa, 2 Volumes (Calcutta, 1875).

Mohanti, Chintamani, Jeypore, In Oriya (Bhadrak, 1934).

Mohapatra, K.N., Khurudha Itihas, In Oriya (Bhubaneswar, 1969).

Mukherjee, P., History of Orissa in the 19th Century, Vol. VI (Bhubaneswar, 1964).

Mukherjee, S.N., History of Education in India, Modern Period (Reprint, Baroda, 1961).

Nair, P.T., Marriage and Dowry in India (Calcutta, 1978).

Niggemeyer, Hermann, Kuttia Kond (Klaus Renner Verlag, 1964).

O'Malley, L.S.S., Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa Sikim (Cambridge, 1917).

O'Malley, L.S.S., History of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa under British Rule (Calcutta, 1925).

O'Malley, L.S.S., Indian Caste Customs (London, 1932).

O'Malley, L.S.S., India's Social Heritage (London, 1934).

O'Malley, L.S.S., Modern India and the West (Oxford, 1941).

Oman, John Campbell, Cults, Customs and Superstitions of India (Ist Pub; 1908, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1972).

Orme, Robert, Selections from the Government and People of Indostan (Lucknow, 1971).

Oswell, G.D., Sketches of Rulers of India, Vol. III (Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1972).

Pakrasi, Kanti B., Female Infanticide in India (Calcutta, 1970).

Panigrahi, K.C., History of Orissa (Cuttack, 1981).

Panigrahi, Lalita, British Social Policy and Female Infanticide in India (New Delhi, 1972).

Panikkar, K.M., Common Sense About India (London, 1960).

Patnaik, Jagannath, Feudatory States of Orissa, 2 Volumes (Allahabad, 1988).

Patnaik, Jagannath, Odissa Itihasare Ketoti Romanchakar Kahani, in Oriya (Cuttack, 1990).

Patnaik, K.S. Chyau, Gumusar Bhanja Bansavali, In Oriya (Cuttack, 1973).

Patnaik, N.K., Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa (Allahabad, 1989).

Patnaik, N.R , Swadhinata Andolanare Odissara Adivasi O' Laxman Naik, In Oriya (Bhubaneswar, 1990).

Patra, A.C,, The Administration of Justice under the East India Company in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa (Bombay, 1962).

Patra, K.M., Orissa under the East India Company (New Delhi, 1971).

Patnaik, P.K., A Forgotten Chapter of Orissan History (Calcutta, 1979).

Penzer. N.M., The Ocean of Story (London, 1924-28).

Philips, C.H., The East India Company (Oxford, 1961).

Ployne, Somerset, Bengal and Assam, Bihar and Orissa, their history, people, commerce, industrial resources (London, 1917).

Popley, H.A., The Music of India (London, 1921).

Presler, Henry H., Primitive Religions in India (Bangalore, 1971).

Radin, Paul, Primitive Religion (Ist Pub: 1937, Reprint, New York, 1957).

Raghavaiah, V., Tribal Revolt (Nellore, 1971).

Rapson, E.J., (Ed.), Cambridge History of India, Vol. I (London, 1922).

Rath, A.K., Studies on some Aspects of History and Culture of Orissa (Calcutta, 1987),

Ray, B C., Foundations of British Orissa (Cuttack, 1960).

Redfield, Margaret Park (Ed.), Human Nature and the Study of Society, The Papers of Robert Redfield, Vol. I (Chicago, 1962).

Redfield, Robert, The Primitive World and its Transformation (Reprint, Middlesex, 1968).

Rice, Stanley P., Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life (London, 1901).

Risley, Herbert; Grierson, George and Crooke, William, The Ethnology, Languages. Literature and Religions of India (Ist Pub; 1931. Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1975).

Risley. Herbert, The People of India (Calcutta, 1908).

Russel, R.V. and Hira Lal, R.B., The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, Vol. III (London, 1916).

Sahu, L N., The Hill Tribes of Jeypore (——, 19-2).

Sahu. N.K., Odia Jatira Itihasa, In Oriya (Bhubaneswar, 1977).

Sahu, N.K., History of Orissa, Vol. I., (Bhubaneswar, 1964).

Saletore, B.A., The Wild Tribes in Indian History (Lahore, 1985).

Samal, J.K., Orissa under the British Crown (New Delhi, 1977).

Sarkar, S.S., The Aboriginal Races of India (Calcutta, 1954).

Schapera, I., Government and Politics in Tribal Societies (Reprint, London, 1963).
Schmidt, Pater, The Origin and Growth of Religion (New York, 1931).
Schulze, F.V.P., Religion of the Kuvi Kond ; Their Customs and Folklore (Madras, 1912).
Semple, E.C., Influence of Geographic Environment (New York, 1911).
Sharma, B D , Tribal Development (Delhi, 1978).
Sharma, M.A., The Tribes and castes of Madras Presidency (Ist Pub 1909, Indian Reprint, Delhi, 1975).
Singh, K. Suresh, (Ed.), Tribal Situation in India (Simla, 1972).
Sinha, B.N., Geography of Orissa (New Delhi, 1971).
Sinha, D.P., Cultural Change in an Inter-tribal Market (Bombay, 1968).
Srivastava, A.R.N , Tribal Freedom Fighters of India (New Delhi, 1986).
Strachey, John, India, Its Administration and Progress (Ist Pub ; 1988, Reprint, London, 1903).
Swain, James Edgar, A History of World Civilization (Reprint, New York, 1947).
Swaro, D., The Christian Missionaries in Orissa : Their impact on Nineteenth Century Society (Calcutta, 1990).
Thakkar, A.V. Tribes of India (Delhi, 1950).
The Adivasis (Delhi, 1955).
Thiady, S.B., Phulbani—the Khondland (Berhampur, 1965).
Thomas, F.W., History and Prospects of British Education in India (London, 1891).
Thomas, M.M. and Taylor, R.W. Tribal Awakening (Bangalore, 1965).
Thurston, E., Castes and Tribes of Southern India, 3 Volumes (Madras, 1909).
Troisi, J. Tribal Religion (New Delhi, 1978).
Vidyarthi, L.P. and Rai B.K., The Tribal Culture of India (Delhi, 1977).
Watson, Francis, A Concise History of India (London, 1974).

Watts, Neville A., The Half-Clad Tribals of Eastern India (Bombay, 1970).

Westermarck, E., The History of Human Marriage, Vol. I (London, 1925).

Woodruff, Philip, The Men Who Ruled India, 2 Volumes (Reprint, London, 1965).

(C) News Papers, Periodicals, Journals and Proceedings

Adivasi (Published by Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, Bhubaneswar).

American Anthropologist.

Calcutta Gazette.

Eastern Anthropologist.

Indian History Congress Proceedings.

Indian Journal of Social Work (Published by Department of Publications, Tata Institute of Social Science, Chembur, Bombay).

Indian Historical Quarterly.

Journal of Orissan History (Published by Orissa History Congress).

Journal of the Anthropological Society, Bombay.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Journal of Education, Madras.

Journal of Indian History (Published by the University of Kerala, Trivandrum).

Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society.

Man (A monthly record of Anthropological Science, published by the Anthropological Institute, 3, Hanover Square, London W).

Man and Life (A Journal of the Institute of Social Research and Applied Anthropology, Calcutta).

Man in India (A quarterly Record on Anthropological Science with special Reference to India, Ranchi).

Marg (A magazine of the Arts, Published by Marga Publications, Bombay).

Orissa History Congress Proceedings.

Orissa Historical Research Journal (Published by the Superintendent, Research and Museum, Bhubaneswar).

Proceedings of Indian Historical Records Commission.
Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society (Published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore).
The Quarterly Review.

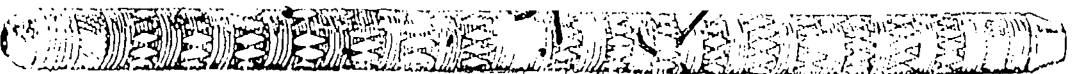
(D) Dictionaries and References

Davies David, Dictionary of Anthropology (London, 1972).
Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Volume 3 (Edinburg, 1915).
Glossary of Vernacular Judicial and Revenue Terms (Calcutta, 1974).
Israel, M., A Grammar of the Kuvi Language (Trivandrum, 1879).
Millman, O J., Kui Primer (Cuttack, 1915).
Millman, O.J., Kui Vespa (Cuttack, 1917).
Raza, Moonis and Ahmad Aijazuddin, An Atlas of Tribal India (New Delhi, 1990).
Schulze, F.V.P. Kuvi Grammar (Madras, 1911).
Schulze, F.V.P., Vocabulary of the Kuvi-Kond Language (Madras, 1913),
Smith, J.M.D., Practical Handbook of the Khond Language (Orissa Mission Press, 1876).
Sutton, A. and Alankar, B., (Comp), An Oriya Dictionary (Cuttack, 1843).
Wilson, H.H., A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms and of useful words occurring in Official Documents, relating to the administration of the Government of British India (London, 1855).
Winfield, W.W., A Grammar of the Kui Language (Calcutta, 1923).
Winfield, W.W., A Vocabulary of the Kui Language (Calcutta, 1929).
Yule, H. and Burnell, A.C., Hobson-Jobson, A Glossary of Colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases, and of kindered Terms, Ethymological, Historical, Geographical and Discursive (Reprint, London, 1903).

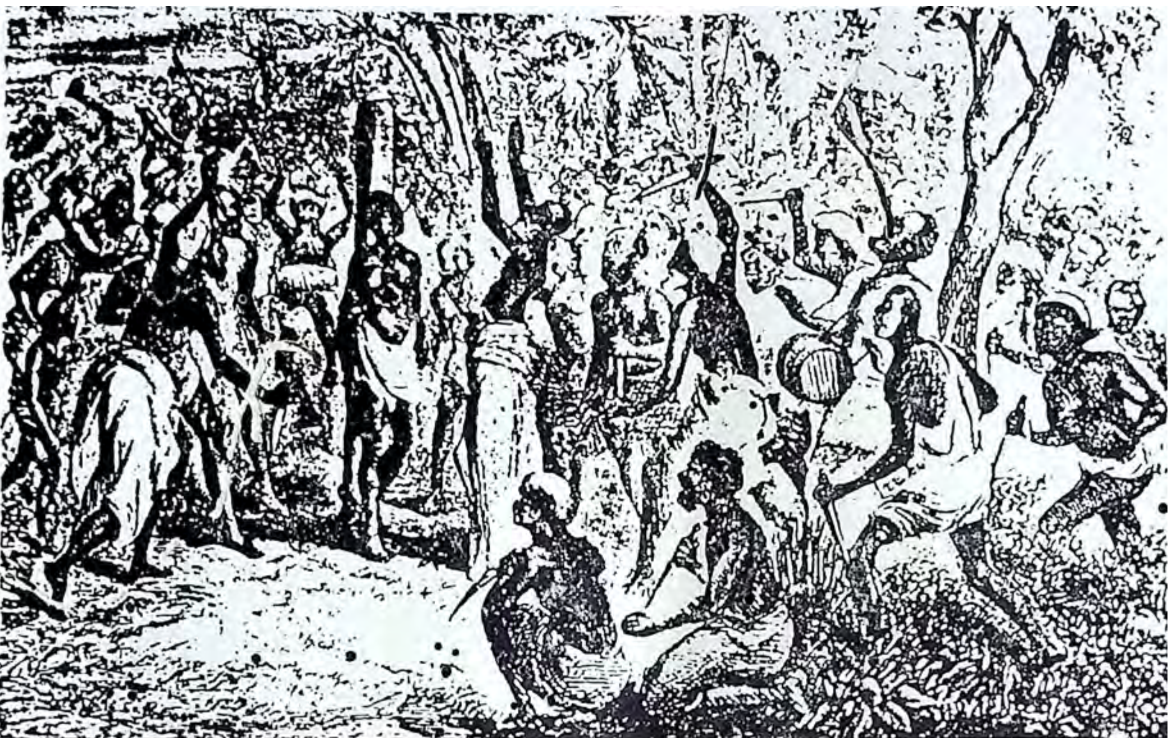
Index



Mask used as substitute for human skulls at the annual or triennial sacrifice to Earth Goddess



Tobacco-tube

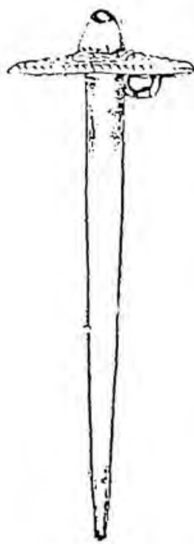


A Meriah Sacrifice

Ref John Campbell, *A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan for the Supression of Human Sacrifice* (London, 1864)



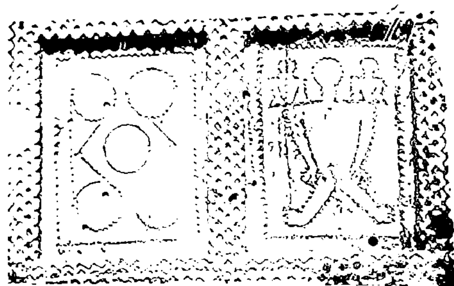
Carving in the part of a door



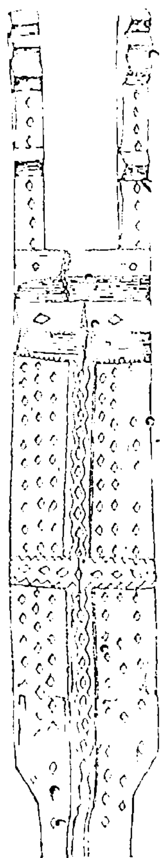
Brass hair-pin



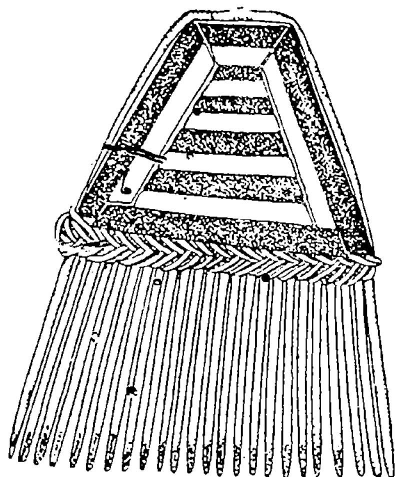
Hollow-cast double cobra



Panel of a door



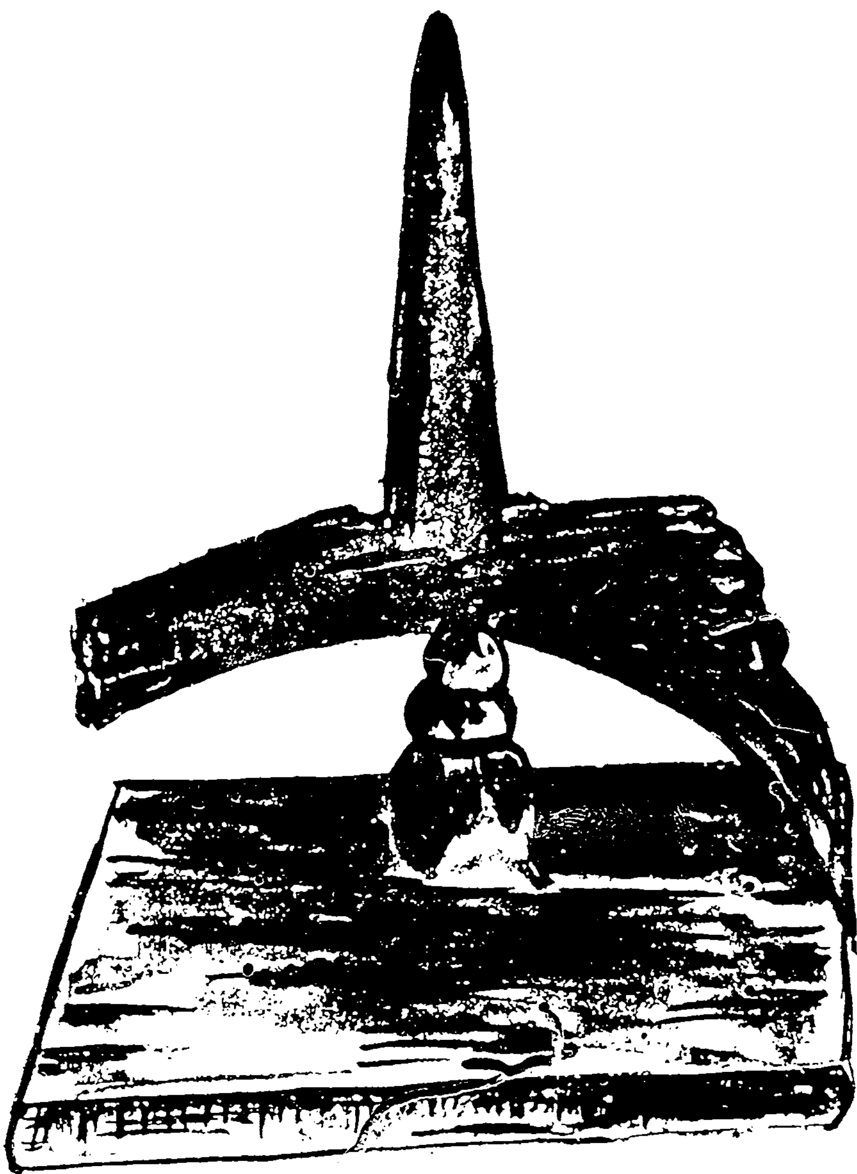
Pillar—a relic of the days of human sacrifice



Comb made of bamboo

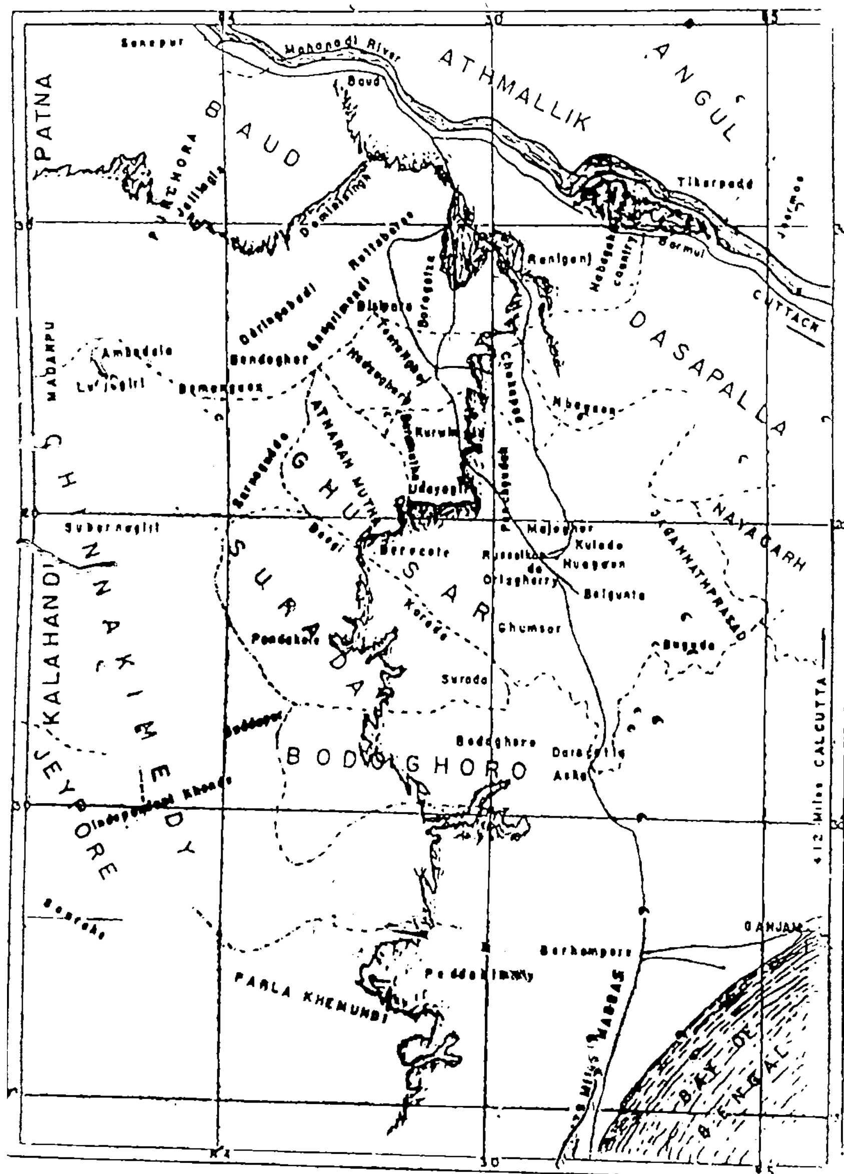


Top of the hair-pin



Meriah Sacrifice Post
Ref : E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. III (Madras, 1909)

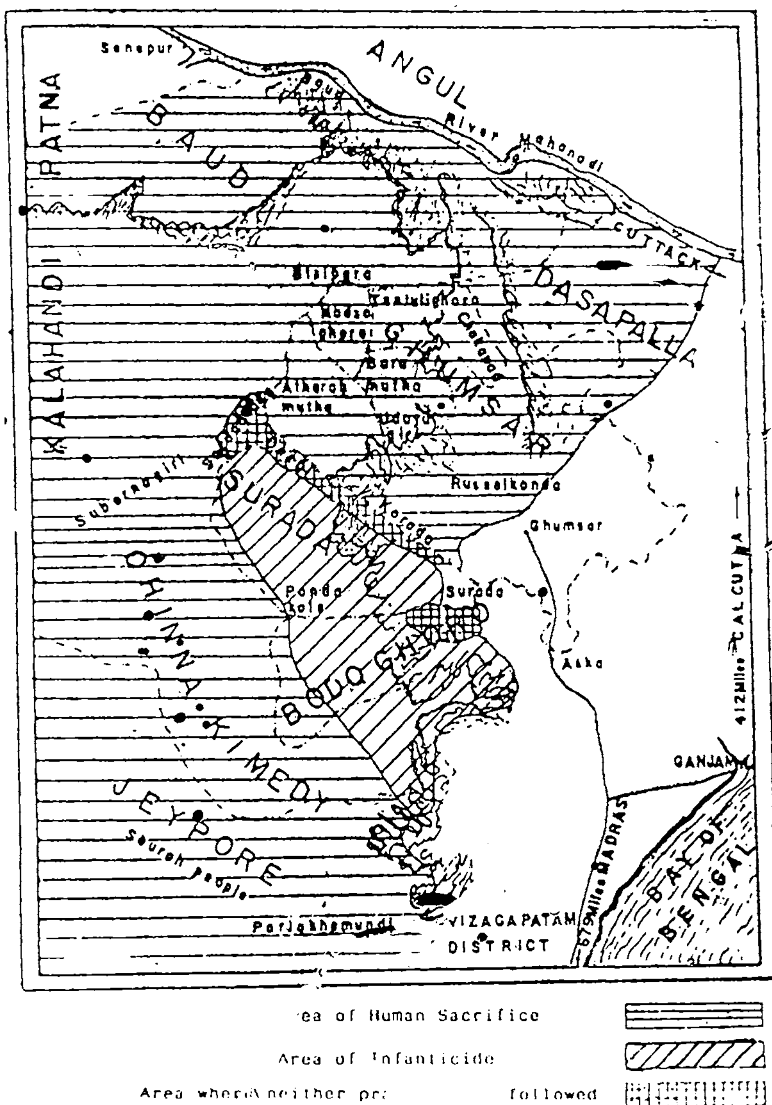
MAP SHOWING THE KHOND HILLS



Source: Author, Digitized by PPRACHIN, SOA

ENDIX

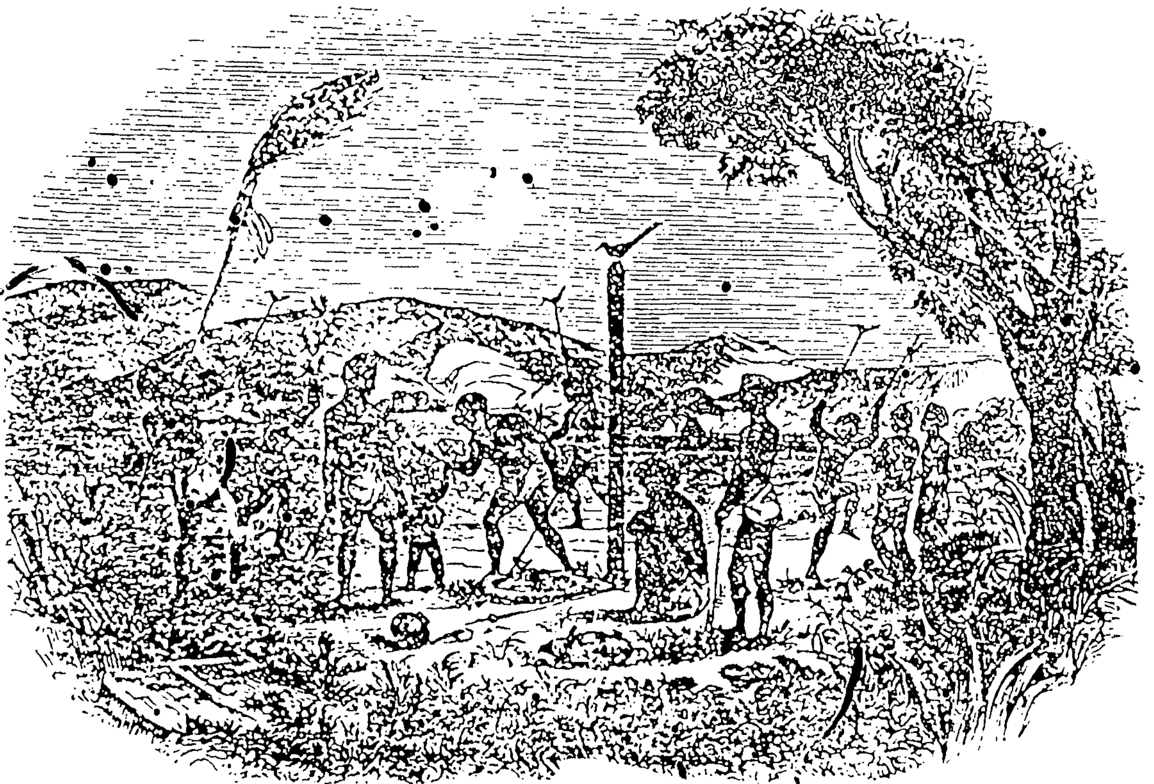
MAP SHOWING THE AREAS OF HUMAN SACRIFICE AND INFANTICIDE



Source: Author, Digitized by PPRACHIN, SOA

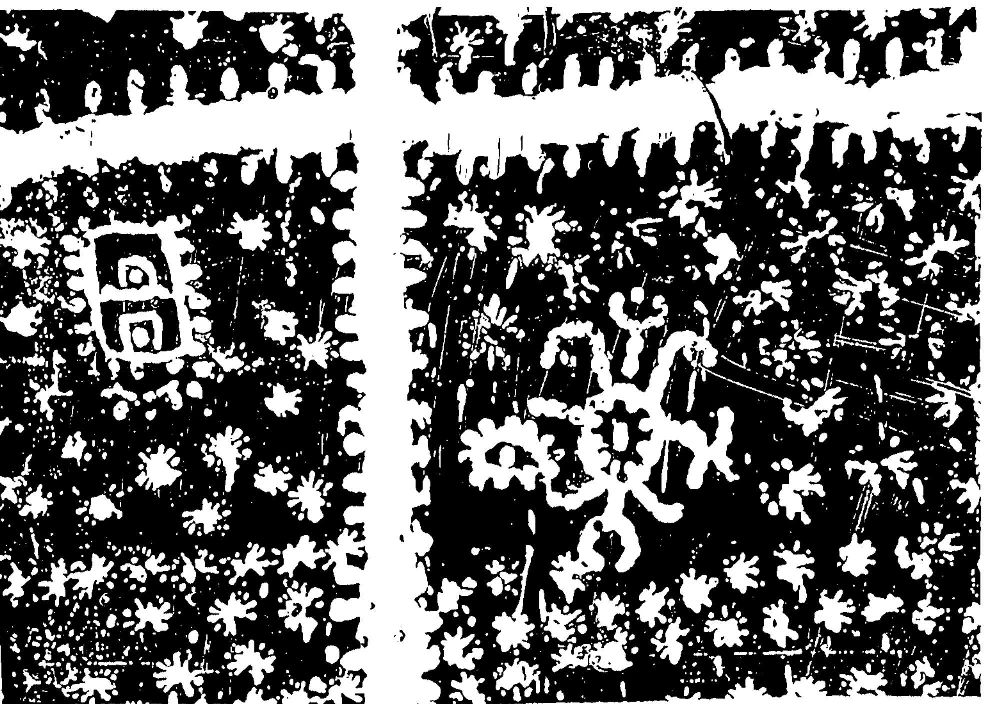


Mode of Infanticide among the Khonds



Infanticide among the Khonds in Ghumsar

Ref : James Peggs, *A History of the General Baptist Mission* (London, 1849)



Khond Painting on Wall

Dr. Nihar Ranjan Patnaik (b. 1957), the author, graduated from Bhadrak College and obtained first class M.A. degree from Utkal University in 1977. Then he joined Orissa Educational Service as Lecturer in History and has served in that capacity in different Government Colleges of Orissa for nearly fifteen years. Meanwhile he obtained M. Phil. and Ph.D. degrees from Utkal University. This book is a post-doctoral research work of the author. He is a prolific writer. To his credit there are two original works : *Social History of Nineteenth Century Orissa* and *Lakshman Naik—A Study in Tribal Patriotism*. He has also edited a highly applauded book *Religious History of Orissa*. He is the co-author of *World History, History of India History of Ancient India, History of Medieval India, History of Modern India, Social and Cultural History of India* and *History of Freedom Movement in India and the National Integration*. Now he is working on a new project *Freedom Struggle and the tribals of Orissa*, getting a fellowship from Indian Council of Historical Research. A number of his research articles have been published in various research books and journals, newspapers and magazines. He has participated in a number of national and state-level seminars, symposia and conferences. He has held the post of the 'Joint Secretary' of Orissa History Congress for three terms. At present he is working as Senior Lecturer in Post-Graduate Department of History, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack.

ISBN 81-7169-199-4

Rs. 550

EMINENT HISTORIAN'S OPIONION

This book offers a comprehensive historical study of the Khond tribes with much detail that will be of great interest to students of myth, to historical anthropologists, and to social and political historians.

DR. PETER ROBB
Chairman, Department of History,
School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London

This is a much welcome and needed book. It deserves to be widely read.

DR. M.N. DAS
Former Vice-Chancellor,
Utkal University

The author must be credited with a lively style, keen analytic powers, and a truely remarkable ability to depict the tribal culture.

DR. K.S. BEHERA
Senior Professor of History,
Utkal University

Never before has the subject been dealt with so exhaustively and with more meticulous accuracy.

DR. K.S. MOHAPATRA
Director, Academy of Tribal
Dialects and Culture,
Bhubaneswar

This work stands in its own right. It will be a major addition to the scholarship on tribal peoples of India.

DR. C.A. BAYLY
Centre of South Asian Studies
University of Cambridge

Commonwealth Publishers

4378/4B, Murari Lal Street, Ansari Road,
New Delhi-110002
Phone : 3272541